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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

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To which is prefixed,

A short ACCOUNT of his LIFE, written by himself.

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FIFTH VOLUME.

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1558.

IN a nation ſo divided as the Engliſh, it could ſcarcely be expected that the death of one ſovereign, and the acceſſion of another, who was generally believed to have embraced oppoſite principles to thoſe which prevailed, could be the object of univerſal ſatisfaction: Yet

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ſo much were men diſpleaſed with the preſent conduct of affairs, and ſuch apprehenſions were entertained of futurity, that the people, overlooking their theological diſputes, expreſſed a general and unfeigned joy that the ſceptre had paſſed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princeſs had diſcovered great prudence in her conduct during the reign of her ſiſter; and as men were ſenſible of the imminent danger to which ſhe was every moment expoſed, compaſſion towards her ſituation, and concern for her ſafety, had rendered her, to an uncommon degree, the favourite of the nation. A parliament had been aſſembled a few days before Mary's death; and when Heathe, archbiſhop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, ſcarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houſes immediately reſounded with the joyful acclamations of "God ſave queen Elizabeth! Long "and happily may ſhe reign!" The people, leſs actuated by faction, and leſs influenced by private views, expreſſed a joy ſtill more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auſpicious commencement of this reign prognoſticated that felicity and glory, which, during its whole courſe, ſo uniformly attended it[a].

ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when ſhe heard of her ſiſter's death; and, after a few days, ſhe went thence to London through crowds of people, who ſtrove with each other in giving her the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower, ſhe could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her preſent fortune, and that which a few years before had attended her, when ſhe was conducted to that place as a priſoner, and lay there expoſed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expreſſed her thanks to Heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody perſecutors; a

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 373.

deliverance,

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deliverance, ſhe ſaid, no leſs miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude ſeems to have been the laſt circumſtance, in which ſhe remembered any paſt hardſhips and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, ſhe buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even thoſe who had acted with the greateſt malevolence againſt her. Sir Harry Bennifield himſelf, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe had been committed, and who had treated her with ſeverity, never felt, during the whole courſe of her reign, any effects of her reſentment[b]. Yet was not the gracious reception, which ſhe gave, proſtitute and undiſtinguiſhing. When the biſhops came in a body to make their obeiſance to her, ſhe expreſſed to all of them ſentiments of regard; except to Bonner, from whom ſhe turned aſide, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a juſt object of horror to every heart ſuſceptible of humanity[c].

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After employing a few days in ordering her domeſtic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts, her ſiſter's death, and her own acceſſion. She ſent Lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then reſided; and ſhe took care to expreſs to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her deſire of perſevering in that friendſhip which had ſo happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreſeen this event, and who ſtill hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in eſpouſing Mary, immediately diſpatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambaſſador at London, to make propoſals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure, from Rome, a diſpenſation for that purpoſe. But Elizabeth ſoon came to the reſolution of declining the propoſal. She ſaw that the nation had

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p 374. [c] Ibid. Heylin, p. 102.

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entertained an extreme averſion to the Spaniſh alliance during her ſiſter's reign; and that one great cauſe of the popularity which ſhe herſelf enjoyed, was the proſpect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign ſubjection. She was ſenſible, that her affinity with Philip was exactly ſimilar to that of her father with Catherine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herſelf illegitimate, and incapable of ſucceeding to the throne. And, though the power of the Spaniſh monarchy might ſtill be ſufficient, in oppoſition to all pretenders, to ſupport her title, her maſculine ſpirit diſdained ſuch precarious dominion, which, as it would depend ſolely on the power of another, muſt be exerciſed according to his inclinations[d]. But, while theſe views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, ſhe gave him an obliging, though evaſive, anſwer; and he ſtill retained ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, that he ſent a meſſenger to Rome, with orders to ſolicit the diſpenſation.

THE queen too, on her ſiſter's death, had written to Sir Edward Carne, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Rome, to notify her acceſſion to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious meaſures concerted by this young princeſs. He told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy ſee; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have aſſumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: That being illegitimate, ſhe could not poſſibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the ſentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: That were he to proceed with rigour, he ſhould puniſh this criminal invaſion of his rights, by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would ſtill keep the door of grace open

[d] Camden in Kennet, p. 370. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 375.

to

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to her: And that, if ſhe would renounce all pretenſions to the crown, and ſubmit entirely to his will, ſhe ſhould experience the utmoſt lenity, compatible with the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee[e]. When this anſwer was reported to Elizabeth, ſhe was aſtoniſhed at the character of that aged pontiff; and, having recalled her ambaſſador, ſhe continued with more determined reſolution to purſue thoſe meaſures which already ſhe had ſecretly embraced.

THE queen, not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her ſiſter's counſellors; but, in order to balance their authority, ſhe added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the proteſtant communion; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambroſe Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom ſhe created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate[f]. With theſe counſellors, particularly Cecil, ſhe frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of reſtoring the proteſtant religion, and the means of executing that great enterpriſe. Cecil told her, that the greater part of the nation had, ever ſince her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and, though her ſiſter had conſtrained them to profeſs the ancient faith, the cruelties exerciſed by her miniſters, had ſtill more alienated their affections from it: That happily the intereſts of the ſovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: That a ſentence, ſo ſolemnly pronounced by two popes againſt her mother's marriage, could not poſſibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the ſee of Rome; and even, if ſhe were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependent footing:

Re-eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion.

[e] Father Paul, lib. 5.

[f] Strype's Ann. vol. i. p. 5.

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That this circumſtance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatſoever; and theſe dangers themſelves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: That the curſes and execrations of the Romiſh church, when not ſeconded by military force, were, in the preſent age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: That though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a ſentence of excommunication againſt her, their intereſts were ſo incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always enſure to her the friendſhip of the other: That if they encouraged the diſcontents of her catholic ſubjects, their dominions alſo abounded with proteſtants, and it would be eaſy to retaliate upon them: That even ſuch of the Engliſh as ſeemed at preſent zealouſly attached to the catholic faith, would, moſt of them, embrace the religion of their new ſovereign; and the nation had of late been ſo much accuſtomed to theſe revolutions, that men had loſt all idea of truth and falſehood in ſuch ſubjects: That the authority of Henry VIII. ſo highly raiſed by many concurring circumſtances, firſt enured the people to this ſubmiſſive deference; and it was the leſs difficult for ſucceeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had ſo long been accuſtomed: And that it would be eaſy for her, by beſtowing on proteſtants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the univerſities, both to enſure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant[s].

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her intereſt, led her to favour the reformation; and ſhe remained not long in ſuſpence with regard to the party which ſhe ſhould embrace. But, though determined in her own

[s] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 377. Camden, p. 370.

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mind, ſhe reſolved to proceed by gradual and ſecure ſteps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invaſion on the eſtabliſhed religion[h]. She thought it requiſite, however, to diſcover ſuch ſymptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the proteſtants, ſo much depreſſed by the late violent perſecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the priſoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleaſantry of one Rainsford on this occaſion, who ſaid to the queen, that he had a petition to preſent her in behalf of other priſoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: She readily replied, that it behoved her firſt to conſult the priſoners themſelves, and to learn of them whether they deſired that liberty which he demanded for them[i].

ELIZABETH alſo proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, ſome acts of power which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the proteſtant teachers, irritated by perſecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient ſuperſtition, and that the Romaniſts replied with no leſs zeal and acrimony, ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe inhibited all preaching without a ſpecial licence[k]; and though ſhe diſpenſed with theſe orders in favour of ſome preachers of her own ſect, ſhe took care that they ſhould be the moſt calm and moderate of the party. She alſo ſuſpended the laws ſo far as to order a great part of the ſervice, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the goſpels, to be read in Engliſh. And, having firſt publiſhed injunctions that all the churches ſhould conform themſelves to the practice of her own chapel, ſhe forbade the hoſte to be any more elevated in her preſence; an

[h] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 378. Camden, p. 371.
[i] Heylin, p. 103.
[k] Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 41.

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innovation, which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the moſt material conſequences[l].

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THESE declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding ſuſpicions, made the biſhops foreſee, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refuſed to officiate at her coronation; and it was with ſome difficulty that the biſhop of Carliſle was at laſt prevailed on to perform the ceremony. When ſhe was conducted through London, amidſt the joyful acclamations of her ſubjects, a boy, who perſonated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and preſented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the moſt gracious deportment; placed it next her boſom; and declared, that, amidſt all the coſtly teſtimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this preſent was by far the moſt precious and moſt acceptable[m]. Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth inſinuated herſelf into the affections of her ſubjects. Open in her addreſs, gracious and affable in all public appearances, ſhe rejoiced in the concourſe of her ſubjects, entered into all their pleaſures and amuſements; and, without departing from her dignity, which ſhe knew well how to preſerve, ſhe acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predeceſſors or ſucceſſors ever could attain. Her own ſex exulted to ſee a woman hold the reins of empire with ſuch prudence and fortitude: And while a young princeſs of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her acceſſion), who poſſeſſed all the graces and inſinuation, though not all the beauty of her ſex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her ſervices, her authority, though corroborated by the ſtricteſt bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

[l] Camden, p. 371. Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 54. Stowe, p. 635.
[m] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 380. Strype, vol. i. p. 29.

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A SOVEREIGN of this diſpoſition was not likely to offend her ſubjects by any uſeleſs or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though ſhe threw out ſuch hints as encouraged the proteſtants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The elections had gone entirely againſt the catholics, who ſeem not indeed to have made any great ſtruggle for the ſuperiority[n]; and the houſes met, in a diſpoſition of gratifying the queen in every particular which ſhe could deſire of them. They began the ſeſſion with an unanimous declaration, "that queen "Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word "of God, as the common and ſtatute laws of the realm, "the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, law-"fully deſcended from the blood-royal, according to the "order of ſucceſſion, ſettled in the 35th of Henry VIII.[o]" This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herſelf and her miniſters; and ſhe ſhewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which ſhe employed on that occaſion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expreſsly repealing the act formerly made againſt her own legitimacy: She knew, that this attempt muſt be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceaſed ſiſter; and as all the world was ſenſible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his uſual violence and caprice, ſhe ſcorned to found her title on any act of an aſſembly, which had too much proſtituted its authority by its former vari-

A parliament.

[n] Notwithſtanding the bias of the nation towards the proteſtant ſect, it appears, that ſome violence, at leaſt according to our preſent ideas, was uſed in theſe elections: Five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough and three to each county; and, by the ſheriffs authority, the members were choſen from among theſe candidates. *See ſtate papers collected by Edward earl of Clarendon*, p. 92.

[o] 1 Eliz. cap. 3.

able,

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able, ſervile, and iniquitous deciſions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the leſs anxiety ſhe diſcovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries; ſhe took poſſeſſion of the throne, both as her birthright, and as enſured to her by former acts of parliament; and ſhe never appeared anxious to diſtinguiſh theſe titles[p].

THE firſt bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their diſpoſition on the head of religion, was that for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries lately erected, and for reſtoring the tenths and firſt-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill was next introduced, annexing the ſupremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated *governeſs*, not *head*, of the church, it conveyed the ſame extenſive power, which, under the latter title, had been exerciſed by her father and brother. All the biſhops who were preſent in the upper houſe ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this law; and as they poſſeſſed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that houſe, as well as among the commons, was againſt them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was veſted with the whole ſpiritual power; might repreſs all hereſies, might eſtabliſh or repeal all canons, might alter every point of diſcipline, and might ordain or aboliſh any religious rite or ceremony[q]. In determining hereſy, the ſovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to ſuch doctrines as had been adjudged hereſy, by the authority of the Scripture, by the firſt four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to ſuch other doc-

[p] Camden, p. 372. Heylin, p. 107, 108.

[q] 1 Eliz. cap. 1. This laſt power was anew recognized in the act of uniformity. 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

trines

trines as ſhould hereafter be denominated hereſy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exerciſe this authority, the queen, by a clauſe of the act, was empowered, to name commiſſioners, either laymen or clergymen, as ſhe ſhould think proper; and on this clauſe was afterwards founded the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; which aſſumed large diſcretionary, not to ſay arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the conſtitution. Their proceedings indeed were only conſiſtent with abſolute monarchy; but were entirely ſuitable to the genius of the act on which they were eſtabliſhed; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power, which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even theſe uſurping prelates had never been able fully to exerciſe, without ſome concurrence of the national clergy.

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WHOEVER refuſed to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's ſupremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the ſupremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the firſt offence, all his goods and chattels; for the ſecond, was ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treaſon. Theſe puniſhments, however ſevere, were leſs rigorous than thoſe which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like caſes.

A LAW was paſſed, confirming all the ſtatutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion[r]: The nomination of biſhops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: The queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any ſee, to ſeize all the temporalities, and to beſtow on the biſhop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value;

[r] 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

and

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1558. and thus the queen, amidſt all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the eccleſiaſtical revenues.

THE biſhops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leaſes longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law ſeemed to be meant for ſecuring the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuſes ſtill prevailed. It was uſual for the courtiers during this reign, to make an agreement with a biſhop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the perſon agreed on [s]. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of James I. The preſent depreſſion of the clergy expoſed them to all injuries; and the laity never ſtopped, till they had reduced the church to ſuch poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compenſation for the odium incurred by it.

A SOLEMN and public diſputation was held during this ſeſſion, in preſence of lord keeper Bacon, between the divines of the proteſtant and thoſe of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the ſovereign, were, as in all former inſtances, entirely triumphant; and the popiſh diſputants, being pronounced refractory and obſtinate, were even puniſhed by impriſonment [t]. Emboldened by this victory, the proteſtants ventured on the laſt and moſt important ſtep, and brought into parliament a bill [u] for aboliſhing the maſs, and re-eſtabliſhing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well againſt thoſe who departed from this mode of worſhip, as againſt thoſe who abſented themſelves from the church and the ſacraments.

[s] Strype, vol. i. p. 79. [t] Ibid. p. 95. [u] 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

And

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And thus in one ſeſſion, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole ſyſtem of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whoſe title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: An event which, though it may appear ſurpriſing to men in the preſent age, was every where expected on the firſt intelligence of Elizabeth's acceſſion.

The commons alſo made a ſacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: They voted a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths[w]. The houſe in no inſtance departed from the moſt reſpectful deference and complaiſance towards the queen. Even the importunate addreſs which they made her on the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to fix her choice of a huſband, could not, they ſuppoſed, be very diſagreeable to one of her ſex and age. The addreſs was couched in the moſt reſpectful expreſſions; yet met with a refuſal from the queen. She told the ſpeaker, that, as the application from the houſe was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a huſband, ſhe could not take offence at the addreſs, or regard it otherwiſe than as a new inſtance of their affectionate attachment to her: That any farther interpoſition on their part would have ill become either them to make as ſubjects, or her to bear as an independent princeſs: That even while ſhe was a private perſon, and expoſed to much danger, ſhe had always declined that engagement, which ſhe regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at preſent, would ſhe perſevere in this ſentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the intereſts of religion,

[w] See note [A] at the end of the volume.

and

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1559. and the happineſs of her ſubjects: That as England was her huſband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here ſhe ſhewed her finger with the ſame gold ring upon it, with which ſhe had ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom at her inauguration), ſo all Engliſhmen were her children; and while ſhe was employed in rearing or governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not deem herſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs and unprofitable: That if ſhe ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her ſubjects' welfare would ſtill be uppermoſt in her thoughts; but ſhould ſhe live and die a virgin, ſhe doubted not but divine Providence, ſeconded by their counſels and her own meaſures, would be able to prevent all diſpute with regard to the ſucceſſion, and ſecure them a ſovereign, who, perhaps better than her own iſſue, would imitate her example, in loving and cheriſhing her people: And that, for her part, ſhe deſired that no higher character, or fairer remembrance of her ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, than to have this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone, when ſhe ſhould pay the laſt debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a "maiden queen[x]."

8th May. AFTER the prorogation of the parliament[y], the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little oppoſition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of biſhops had been reduced to fourteen by a ſickly ſeaſon, which preceded; and all theſe, except the biſhop of Landaffe, having refuſed compliance, were de-

[x] Camden, p. 375. Sir Simon d'Ewes.

[y] It is thought remarkable by Camden, tha though this ſeſſion was the firſt of the reign, no perſon was attainted; but, on the contrary, ſome reſtored in blood by the parliament. A good ſymptom of the lenity, at leaſt of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that it ſhould appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

graded

graded from their ſees: But of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near 10,000 pariſhes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, ſacrificed their livings to their religious principles [z]. Thoſe in high eccleſiaſtic ſtations, being expoſed to the eyes of the public, ſeem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perſeverance; but on the whole, the proteſtants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conſcientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itſelf to the ſenſes, and enjoining obſervances, which enter into the common train of life, does at preſent lay faſter hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly ſpiritual, reſembles more a ſyſtem of metaphyſics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the firſt ages after the reformation, much greater on the ſide of the proteſtants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and ſupinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: But the reformers, obliged to diſpute on every occaſion, and inflamed to a degree of enthuſiaſm by novelty and perſecution, had ſtrongly attached themſelves to their tenets; and were ready to ſacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, in ſupport of their ſpeculative and abſtract principles.

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The forms and ceremonies, ſtill preſerved in the Engliſh liturgy, as they bore ſome reſemblance to the ancient ſervice, tended farther to reconcile the catholics to the eſtabliſhed religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worſhip, and at the ſame time ſtruck out every thing that could be offenſive to them in the new liturgy [a], even thoſe who were addicted to the Romiſh communion made no ſcruple of attending the eſtabliſhed church,

[z] Camden, p. 376. Heylin, p. 115. Strype, vol. i. p. 73. with ſome ſmall variations. [a] Heylin, p. 112.

Had

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Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumſtance with the people, would have been ſtill more ſimilar between the new and the ancient form of worſhip. Her love of ſtate and magnificence, which ſhe affected in every thing, inſpired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that ſhe gave up either images or the addreſſes to ſaints, or prayers for the dead [b]. Some foreign princes interpoſed to procure the Romaniſts the privilege of ſeparate aſſemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their requeſt; and ſhe repreſented the manifeſt danger of diſtruſting the national peace by a toleration of different religions [c].

Peace with France.

WHILE the queen and parliament were employed in ſettling the public religion, the negociations for a peace were ſtill conducted, firſt at Cercamp, then at Cateau-Cambreſis, between the miniſters of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally ſucceſsful in this tranſaction. Philip employed his utmoſt efforts to procure the reſtitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in intereſt to remove France to a diſtance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of eſpouſing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all ſuch views, his miniſters hinted to her a propoſal, which may be regarded as reaſonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were ſettled, he ſeemed willing to continue the war, till ſhe ſhould obtain ſatisfaction; provided ſhe would ſtipulate to adhere to the Spaniſh

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p 376. 397. Camden, p. 371. [c] Camden, p. 378. Strype, vol. i. p. 150. 370.

alliance,

alliance, and continue hoſtilities againſt Henry, during the courſe of ſix years[d]: But Elizabeth, after conſulting with her miniſters, wiſely rejected this propoſal. She was ſenſible of the low ſtate of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and ſiſter; the diſorders introduced into every part of the adminiſtration; the diviſions by which her people were agitated; and ſhe was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during ſome years could bring the kingdom again into a flouriſhing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her tranſactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impoſſibility, during the preſent emergence, of recovering it by treaty, ſhe was willing rather to ſuffer that loſs, than ſubmit to ſuch a dependence on Spain, as ſhe muſt expect to fall into, if ſhe continued pertinaciouſly in her preſent demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambaſſadors, lord Effingham, the biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negociation, and to ſettle a peace with Henry, on any reaſonable terms. Henry offered to ſtipulate a marriage between the eldeſt daughter of the dauphin, and the eldeſt ſon of Elizabeth; and to engage for the reſtitution of Calais as the dowry of that princeſs[e]; but as the queen was ſenſible, that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evaſion, ſhe inſiſted upon more equitable, at leaſt more plauſible conditions. It was at laſt agreed, that Henry ſhould reſtore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in caſe of failure, he ſhould pay five hundred thouſand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais ſtill remain; that he ſhould find the ſecurity of ſeven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this ſum; that he ſhould deliver five hoſtages till that ſecurity were provided; that if Elizabeth broke

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[d] Forbes's Full View, vol. i. p. 59.

[e] Forbes, vol. i. p. 54.

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the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, ſhe ſhould forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he ſhould be obliged immediately to reſtore that fortreſs [f]. All men of penetration eaſily ſaw, that theſe ſtipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excuſed the queen on account of the neceſſity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in ſubmitting, without farther ſtruggle, to that neceſſity. A peace with Scotland was a neceſſary conſequence of that with France.

PHILIP and Henry terminated hoſtilities by a mutual reſtitution of all places taken during the courſe of the war; and Philip eſpouſed the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his ſon Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's ſiſter, and obtained a reſtitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns, retained by France. And thus general tranquillity ſeemed to be reſtored to Europe.

Diſguſt between the queen, and Mary queen of Scots.

BUT though peace was concluded between France and England, there ſoon appeared a ground of quarrel, of the moſt ſerious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII. that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it ſeemed impoſſible, that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal: But ſtill the birth of Elizabeth lay under ſome diſadvantages, to which that of her ſiſter, Mary, was not expoſed. Henry's firſt marriage had obtained the ſanction of all the powers, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for proteſtants as well as Romaniſts, to allow, on account of the ſincere intention of the parties, that their iſſue ought

[f] Forbes, p. 68. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 505.

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to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and ſecond marriage had been concluded in direct oppoſition to the ſee of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the Engliſh parliament and convocation, thoſe who were ſtrongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reaſoned with great ſtrictneſs, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of ſucceſſion. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princeſs, joined to her plauſible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had ſecretly been ſoliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication againſt the queen; and ſhe had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from intereſt more than either friendſhip or generoſity, had negociated in her favour, and had ſucceſsfully oppoſed the pretenſions of Henry. But the court of France was not diſcouraged with this repulſe: The duke of Guiſe, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit, if their niece ſhould bring an acceſſion of England, as ſhe had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their perſuaſion, he ordered his ſon and daughter-in-law to aſſume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter theſe arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the Engliſh ambaſſador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evaſive anſwer; that as the queen of Scots was deſcended from the blood royal of England, ſhe was entitled, by the example of many princes, to aſſume the arms of that kingdom. But beſides that this practice had never prevailed without permiſſion being firſt obtained, and without making a viſible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly ſaw, that this pretenſion had not been ad-

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vanced during the reign of her ſiſter Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended, on the firſt opportunity, to diſpute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, ſhe thenceforth conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as poſſible, to incapaciate Henry from the execution of his project. The ſudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the eſpouſals of his ſiſter with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his ſucceſſor, Francis II. ſtill continued to aſſume, without reſerve, the title of king of England, ſhe began to conſider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the preſent ſituation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own ſafety.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE murder of the cardinal-primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottiſh catholics of a head, whoſe ſeverity, courage, and capacity, had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws againſt hereſy began thenceforth to be more remiſs. The queen-regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counſels; and as ſhe was not diſpoſed to ſacrifice the civil intereſts of the ſtate to the bigotry or intereſts of the clergy, ſhe deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progreſs of a doctrine, which ſhe had not power entirely to repreſs. When informed of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of Mary to the crown of England, ſhe entertained hopes, that the Scottiſh reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would loſe their ardour with their proſpect of ſucceſs, and would gradually return to the faith of their anceſtors. But the progreſs and revolutions of religion are little governed by the uſual maxims

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maxims of civil policy; and the event much diſappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the Engliſh preachers, terrified with the ſeverity of Mary's government, took ſhelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder adminiſtration; and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a juſt horror againſt the cruelties of the bigoted catholics, and ſhowed their diſciples the fate which they muſt expect, if ever their adverſaries ſhould attain an uncontrouled authority over them.

A HIERARCHY, moderate in its acquiſitions of power and riches, may ſafely grant a toleration to ſectaries; and the more it ſoftens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more ſecurely will it poſſeſs thoſe advantages which the legal eſtabliſhments beſtow upon it. But where ſuperſtition has raiſed a church to ſuch an exorbitant height as that of Rome, perſecution is leſs the reſult of bigotry in the prieſts, than of a neceſſary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who, beſides religious zeal, have ſo many other motives, derived both from public and private intereſt, to engage them on the ſide of innovation. But though ſuch overgrown hierarchies may long ſupport themſelves by theſe violent expedients, the time comes, when ſeverities tend only to enrage the new ſectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reaſon and moderation. This criſis was now viſibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever conſiders merely the tranſactions reſulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on the ſituations, will remark the neceſſary progreſs of human affairs, and the operation of thoſe principles, which are inherent in human nature.

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1559. Reformation in Scotland.

Some heads of the reformers in Scotland, ſuch as the earl of Argyle, his ſon lord Lorne, the earls of Morton and Glencarne, Erſkine of Dun, and others, obſerving the danger to which they were expoſed, and deſirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or aſſociation; and called themſelves the *Congregation* of the Lord, in contradiſtinction to the eſtabliſhed church, which they denominated the congregation of Satan. The tenor of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how "Satan, in his members, the antichriſt of our time, do "cruelly rage, ſeeking to overthrow and to deſtroy the "goſpel of Chriſt and his congregation, ought, accord- "ing to our bounden duty, to ſtrive, in our maſter's "cauſe, even unto the death, being certain of the "victory in him. We do therefore promiſe, before the "majeſty of God and his congregation, that we, by his "grace, ſhall with all diligence continually apply our "whole power, ſubſtance, and our very lives, to main- "tain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed word "of God and his congregation; and ſhall labour, by all "poſſible means, to have faithful miniſters, truly and "purely to miniſter Chriſt's goſpel and ſacraments to "his people: We ſhall maintain them, nouriſh them, "and defend them, the whole congregation of Chriſt, "and every member thereof, by our whole power, and "at the hazard of our lives, againſt Satan, and all "wicked power, who may intend tyranny and trouble "againſt the ſaid congregation: Unto which holy "word and congregation we do join ourſelves; and "we forſake and renounce the congregation of Satan, "with all the ſuperſtitious abomination and idola- "try thereof; and moreover ſhall declare ourſelves "manifeſtly enemies thereto, by this faithful promiſe "before God, teſtified to this congregation by our ſub- "ſcriptions.

"ſcriptions. At Edinburgh, the third of December, "1557[g]."

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HAD the ſubſcribers of this zealous league been content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however incompatible their pretenſions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome, they would have had the praiſe of oppoſing tyrannical laws, enacted to ſupport an eſtabliſhment prejudicial to civil ſociety: But it is plain, that they carried their views much farther; and their practice immediately diſcovered the ſpirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority, which, they thought, belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained, that prayers in the vulgar tongue[h] ſhould be uſed in all the pariſh churches of the kingdom; and that preaching, and the interpretation of the ſcriptures ſhould be practiſed in private houſes, till God ſhould move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true miniſters[i]. Such bonds of aſſociation are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent invaſion of the eſtabliſhed religion was the actual commencement of it.

BEFORE this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed with the progreſs of the reformation, attempted to recover their loſt authority by a violent exerciſe of power, which tended ſtill farther to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, ſeized Walter Mill, a prieſt of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for hereſy. Such general averſion was entertained againſt this barbarity, that it was ſome time before the biſhops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil

[g] Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101. [h] The reformers uſed at that time king Edward's liturgy in Scotland. Forbes, p. 155. [i] Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101.

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judge, and pronounce ſentence upon Mill; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the ſhops of St. Andrews being ſhut, no one would ſell a rope to tie him to the ſtake, and the primate himſelf was obliged to furniſh this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage, which, though uſual on theſe occaſions, always appears ſupernatural and aſtoniſhing to the multitude. The people, to expreſs their abhorrence againſt the cruelty of the prieſts, raiſed a monument of ſtones on the place of his execution; and as faſt as the ſtones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again ſupplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace[k]. It is in vain for men to oppoſe the ſevereſt puniſhment to the united motives of religion and public applauſe; and this was the laſt barbarity of the kind, which the catholics had the power to exerciſe in Scotland.

Some time after, the people diſcovered their ſentiments in ſuch a manner as was ſufficient to prognoſticate to the prieſts the fate which was awaiting them. It was uſual on the feſtival of St. Giles, the tutelar ſaint of Edinburgh, to carry in proceſſion the image of that ſaint; but the proteſtants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the feſtival, to purloin the ſtatue from the church; and they pleaſed themſelves with imagining the ſurpriſe and diſappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed haſtily a new image, which, in deriſion, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the ſtreets, attended by all the eccleſiaſtics in the town and neighbourhood. The multitude abſtained from violence ſo long as the queen-regent continued a ſpectator, but the moment ſhe retired, they invaded the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the prieſts and friars, who, it was remarked, deſerted

[k] Knox, p. 122.

in

in his greateſt diſtreſs the object of their worſhip, was the ſource of univerſal mockery and laughter. CHAP. XXXVIII.

ENCOURAGED by all theſe appearances, the congregation proceeded with alacrity in openly ſoliciting ſubſcriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the acceſſion of Elizabeth, which happened about this time, contributed to encreaſe their hopes of final ſucceſs in their undertaking. They ventured to preſent a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the *wicked*, *ſcandalous*, and *deteſtable* lives of the prelates and eccleſiaſtics [l]. They framed a petition, which they intended to preſent to parliament, and in which, after premiſing, that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry, and intolerable abuſes of the papiſtical church, they deſired, that the laws againſt heretics ſhould be executed by the civil magiſtrate alone, and that the ſcripture ſhould be the ſole rule in judging of hereſy [m]. They even petitioned the convocation, and inſiſted, that prayers ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, and that biſhops ſhould be choſen with the conſent of the gentry of the dioceſe, and prieſts with the conſent of the pariſhioners [n]. The regent prudently temporized between theſe parties; and as ſhe aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her ſon-in-law, the dauphin, ſhe was, on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them. 1559.

BUT after this conceſſion was obtained, ſhe received orders from France, probably dictated by the violent ſpirit of her brothers, to proceed with rigour againſt the reformers, and to reſtore the royal authority by ſome ſignal act of power [o]. She made the more eminent of the proteſtant teachers be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching

[l] Knox, p. 121. [m] Ibid. p. 123. [n] Keith, p. 78. 81, 82.
[o] Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 446.

thither

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1559. thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, ſhe entertained apprehenſions of an inſurrection, and, it is ſaid, diſſipated the people by a promiſe[P], that nothing ſhould be done to the prejudice of the miniſters. Sentence, however, was paſſed, by which all the miniſters were pronounced rebels on account of their not appearing. A meaſure which enraged the people, and made them reſolve to oppoſe the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremities againſt the clergy of the eſtabliſhed religion.

In this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had paſſed ſome years in baniſhment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the higheſt fanaticiſm of his ſect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. He had been invited

11th May. back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the preſent ferment of men's minds, he declaimed with his uſual vehemence againſt the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmoſt zeal for its ſubverſion. A prieſt was ſo imprudent after this ſermon, as to open his repoſitory of images and reliques, and prepare himſelf to ſay maſs. The audience, exalted to a diſpoſition for any furious enterprize, were as much enraged as if the ſpectacle had not been quite familiar to them: They attacked the prieſt with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, ſcattered about the ſacred vaſes; and left no implement of idolatrous worſhip, as they termed it, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monaſteries of the grey and black friars, which they pillaged in an inſtant: The Carthuſians underwent the ſame fate: And the populace, not content

[P] See note [B] at the end of the volume.

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with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of ſuch abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of theſe edifices were left ſtanding. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife ſoon after imitated the example [q]. 1559.

Civil wars in Scotland.

THE queen-regent, provoked at theſe violences, aſſembled an army, and prepared to chaſtiſe the rebels. She had about two thouſand French under her command, with a few Scottiſh troops; and being aſſiſted by ſuch of the nobility as were well affected to her, ſhe pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterprize, either becauſe they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped, by their own influence and authority, to mediate ſome agreement between the parties. The congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencarne from the weſt, and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from the zeal by which they were animated. They ſent an addreſs to the regent, where they plainly inſinuated, that, if they were purſued to extremities, by the *cruel beaſts* the churchmen, they would have recourſe to foreign powers for aſſiſtance; and they ſubſcribed themſelves her faithful ſubjects in all things not repugnant to God, aſſuming, at the ſame time, the name of the faithful congregation of Chriſt Jeſus [r]. They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained, that their own paſt violences were juſtified by the word of God, which commands the godly to deſtroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and though all civil authority was ſacred, yet was there a great difference be-

[q] Spotſwood, p. 121, Knox, p. 127. [r] Knox, p. 129.

tween

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tween the authority and the perſons who exerciſed it[s]; and that it ought to be conſidered, whether or not thoſe abominations, called by the peſtilent papiſts, Religion, and which they defend by fire and ſword, be the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus. They remonſtrated with ſuch of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, "That as they were already reputed traitors by God, they ſhould likewiſe be excommunicated from their ſociety, and from the participation of the ſacraments of the church, which God by his mighty power had erected among them; whoſe miniſters have the ſame authority which Chriſt granted to his apoſtles in theſe words, *Whoſe ſins ye ſhall forgive ſhall be forgiven, and whoſe ſins ye ſhall retain ſhall be retained*[t]." We may here ſee, that theſe new ſaints were no leſs lofty in their pretenſions than the ancient hierarchy: No wonder they were enraged againſt the latter as their rivals in dominion. They joined to all theſe declarations an addreſs to the eſtabliſhed church; and they affixed this title to it: "To the generation of antichriſt, the peſtilent prelates and their *ſhavelings*[u] in Scotland, the congregation of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame ſayeth." The tenor of the manifeſto was ſuitable to the title. They told the eccleſiaſtics, "As ye by tyranny intend not only to deſtroy our bodies, but alſo by the ſame to hold our ſouls in bondage of the devil, ſubject to idolatry; ſo ſhall we, with all the force and power which God ſhall grant unto us, execute juſt vengeance and puniſhment upon you: Yea, we ſhall begin that ſame war which God commanded Iſrael to execute againſt the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace ſhall never be made, till you deſiſt from your open idolatry, and cruel perſecution of God's

[s] Knox, p. 131. [t] Ibid. p. 133. [u] A contemptuous term for a prieſt.

children,

" children. And this, in the name of the eternal God, " and of his ſon Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe verity we profeſs, " and Goſpel we have preached, and holy ſacraments " rightly adminiſtered, we ſignify unto you, to be our " intent, ſo far as God will aſſiſt us to withſtand your " idolatry. Take this for warning, and be not deceiv- " ed [w]." With theſe outrageous ſymptoms, commenced in Scotland that cant, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which long infeſted that kingdom, and which, though now mollified by the lenity of the civil power, is ſtill ready to break out on all occaſions. 1559.

THE queen regent, finding ſuch obſtinate zeal in the rebels, was content to embrace the counſels of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, and to form an accommodation with them. She was received into Perth, which ſubmitted, on her promiſing an indemnity for paſt offences, and engaging not to leave any French garriſon in the place. Complaints, very ill founded, immediately aroſe concerning the infraction of this capitulation. Some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were moleſted on account of the late violences; and ſome companies of Scotch ſoldiers, ſuppoſed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town; which ſtep, though taken on very plauſible grounds, was loudly exclaimed againſt by the congregation [x]. It is aſſerted that the regent, to juſtify theſe meaſures, declared that princes ought not to have their promiſes too ſtrictly urged upon them; nor was any faith to be kept with heretics: And that for her part, could ſhe find as good a colour, ſhe would willingly bereave all theſe men of their lives and fortunes [y]. But it it no wiſe likely, that ſuch expreſſions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous princeſs. On the contrary, it appears, that all theſe violences were diſagreeable to her; that ſhe

[w] Keith, p. 85, 86, 87. Knox, p. 134.
[x] Knox, p. 139.
[y] Ibid. Spotſwood, p. 123.

was

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was in this particular over-ruled by the authority of the French counſellors placed about her; and that ſhe often thought, if the management of thoſe affairs had been entruſted wholly to herſelf, ſhe could eaſily, without force, have accommodated all differences [z].

The congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by theſe diſappointments, remained not long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had ſigned a new covenant, in which, beſides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in deſtroying every thing that diſhonoured his holy name; and this covenant was ſubſcribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews [a]. Theſe two leaders now deſired no better pretence for deſerting the regent and openly joining their aſſociates, than the complaints, however doubtful, or rather falſe, of her breach of promiſe. The congregation alſo, encouraged by this acceſſion of force, gave themſelves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anſtruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monaſteries with thoſe formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched againſt them with her army, finding their power ſo much increaſed, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to paſs over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers beſieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exerciſed their uſual fury; and finding nothing able to reſiſt them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the congregation againſt the churches and monaſteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with the few forces

[z] See note [C] at the end of the volume.

[a] Keith, p. 89. Knox, p. 138.

which

which remained with her, took ſhelter in Dunbar, where ſhe fortified herſelf, in expectation of a reinforcement from France. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

MEANWHILE, ſhe employed her partizans in repreſenting to the people the dangerous conſequences of this open rebellion; and ſhe endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the ſcheme of wreſting the ſceptre from the hands of the ſovereign. By theſe conſiderations many were engaged to deſert the army of the congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of ſubſiſtence; and the regent, obſerving the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a deſign of ſuppreſſing them. On the interpoſition of the duke of Chatelrault, who ſtill adhered to her, ſhe agreed to a capitulation, in which ſhe granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publiſh only the articles favourable to themſelves, and they were guilty of an impoſture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry ſhould not again be erected in any place where it was at that time ſuppreſſed [b].

AN agreement, concluded while men were in this diſpoſition, could not be durable; and both ſides endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves as much as poſſible, againſt the enſuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having got a reinforcement of 1000 men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the congregation ſeduced to their party the duke of Chatelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at laſt determined by the arrival of his ſon, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had eſcaped many dangers, from the jealouſy, as well as bigotry, of Henry and the duke

[b] See note [D] at the end of the volume.

of

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of Guiſe. More French troops ſoon after diſembarked under the command of La Broſſe, who was followed by the biſhop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. Theſe laſt were ſupplied with ſtore of ſyllogiſms, authorities, citations, and ſcholaſtic arguments, which they intended to oppoſe to the Scottiſh preachers, and which, they juſtly preſumed, would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery [c].

THE conſtable Montmorency had always oppoſed the marriage of the Dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that, by forming ſuch cloſe connexions with Scotland, the ancient league would be diſſolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would ſoon become, inſtead of allies, attached by intereſt and inclination, the moſt inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event ſeemed now to have juſtified the prudence of that aged miniſter, it is not improbable, conſidering the violent counſels by which France was governed, that the inſurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence for ſending over armies, for entirely ſubduing the country, for attainting the rebels [d], and for preparing means thence to invade England, and ſupport Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the congregation, well acquainted with theſe views, were not inſenſible of their danger, and ſaw that their only ſafety conſiſted in the vigour and ſucceſs of their meaſures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the ſudden death of Henry II.; and having paſſed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution againſt

[c] Spotſwood, p. 134. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 10.
[d] Forbes, vol. i. p. 139. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 13.

them.

them. They again became maſters of Edinburgh; but found themſelves unable to keep long poſſeſſion of that city. Their tumultuary armies, aſſembled in haſte, and ſupported by no pay, ſoon ſeparated upon the leaſt diſaſter, or even any delay of ſucceſs; and were incapable of reſiſting ſuch veteran troops as the French, who were alſo ſeconded by ſome of the Scottiſh nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwel diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army againſt them in Germany, they thought themſelves excuſable for applying, in this extremity, to the aſſiſtance of England; and as the ſympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animoſity againſt that kingdom, this meaſure was the reſult of inclination, no leſs than of intereſt [e]. Maitland of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were ſecretly diſpatched by the congregation to ſolicit ſuccours from Elizabeth.

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Interpoſition of the queen in Scotch affairs.

THE wiſe council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this requeſt, which concurred ſo well with the views and intereſts of their miſtreſs. Cecil in particular repreſented to the queen, that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as protector Somerſet, had employed every expedient, both of war and negociation, to prevent it: That the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the preſent ſituation of England ſtill more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greateſt vigilance and precaution: That the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guiſe, who now governed the French counſels, were ſufficiently known; and they themſelves made no ſecret of their deſign to place their niece on the

[e] See note [E] at the end of the Volume.

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1559. throne of England: That deeming themſelves ſecure of ſucceſs, they had already, ſomewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the maſk; and Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, ſent over, by every courier, inconteſtible proofs of their hoſtile intentions[f]: That they only waited till Scotland ſhould be entirely ſubdued; and having thus deprived the Engliſh of the advantages reſulting from their ſituation and naval power, they prepared means for ſubverting the queen's authority: That the zealous catholics in England, diſcontented with the preſent government, and ſatisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them conſiderable reinforcement, and would diſturb every meaſure of defence againſt that formidable power: That the only expedient for preventing theſe deſigns was to ſeize the preſent opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the proteſtants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the juſtice of a meaſure, founded on ſuch evident neceſſity, and directed only to the ends of ſelf-preſervation: That though a French war, attended with great expence, ſeemed the neceſſary conſequence of ſupporting the malcontents in Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much leſs formidable; and a ſmall diſburſement at preſent would in the end be found the greateſt frugality: And that the domeſtic diſſentions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithſtanding his bigotry and hypocriſy, would never permit the entire conqueſt of England, were ſufficient to ſecure the queen againſt the dangerous ambition and reſentment of the houſe of Guiſe[g].

[f] Forbes, vol. i. p. 134. 136. 149, 150. 159. 165. 181. 194. 219. 231. 235—241. 253. [g] Forbes, vol. i. p. 387. Jebb, vol. i. p. 448. Keith, Append. 24.

ELIZABETH'S

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ELIZABETH's propenſity to caution and œconomy was, though with ſome difficulty[h], overcome by theſe powerful motives; and ſhe prepared herſelf to ſupport, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which conſiſted of thirteen ſhips of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, ſhe ſent it to the Frith of Forth: She appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and ſhe aſſembled at Berwic an army of eight thouſand men under the command of lord Gray, warden of the eaſt and middle marches. Though the court of France, ſenſible of the danger, offered her to make immediate reſtitution of Calais, provided ſhe would not interpoſe in the affairs of Scotland; ſhe reſolutely replied, that ſhe never would put an inconſiderable fiſhing-town in competition with the ſafety of her dominions[i]; and ſhe ſtill continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, which was to laſt during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and ſhe promiſed never to deſiſt till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland[k]. And having thus taken all proper meaſures for ſucceſs, and received from the Scots ſix hoſtages for the performance of articles, ſhe ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations. 1559.

THE appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith diſconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themſelves for defence. The Engliſh army, reinforced by 5000 Scots[l], ſat down before the place; 1560. 15th Jan.

[h] Forbes, vol. i. p. 454. 460. [i] Spotſwood, p. 146. [k] Knox, p. 217. Haynes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 153. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 569. [l] Haynes, vol. i. p. 256. 259.

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1560. and after two ſkirmiſhes, in the former of which the Engliſh had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and, though repulſed with conſiderable loſs in a raſh and ill-conducted aſſault, they reduced the garriſon to great difficulties. Their diſtreſs was augmented by two events; the diſperſion by a ſtorm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a conſiderable army on board[m], and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the caſtle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which ſhone forth in her family, but poſſeſſed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it. The French, who found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt for want of proviſions, and who ſaw, that the Engliſh were continually reinforced by freſh

5th July. numbers, were obliged to capitulate: And the biſhop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, ſigned a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had ſent thither for that

Settlement of Scotland. purpoſe. It was there ſtipulated, that the French ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom; that farther ſatisfaction for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and the commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain ſhould be umpire between the crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould enjoy any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the queen of Scots

[m] Haynes, vol. i. p. 223.

ſhould

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ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the ſtates five, and in the hands of theſe twelve ſhould the whole adminiſtration be placed during their queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without conſent of the ſtates[n]. In order to haſten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth ſent ſhips, by which the French forces were tranſported into their own country.

THUS Europe ſaw, in the firſt tranſaction of this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen and her miniſters. She diſcerned at a diſtance the danger which threatened her; and inſtantly took vigorous meaſures to prevent it. Making all poſſible advantages of her ſituation, ſhe proceeded with celerity to a deciſion; and was not diverted by any offers, negociations, or remonſtrances of the French court. She ſtopped not till ſhe had brought the matter to a final iſſue; and had converted that very power, to which her enemies truſted for her deſtruction, into her firmeſt ſupport and ſecurity. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottiſh malcontents, even during their greateſt diſtreſſes, ſhe eſtabliſhed an entire confidence with them; and having cemented the union by all the ties of gratitude, intereſt, and religion, ſhe now poſſeſſed an influence over them beyond what remained even with their native ſovereign. The regard, which ſhe acquired by this dexterous and ſpirited conduct, gave her every where, abroad as well as at home, more authority than had attended her ſiſter, though ſupported by all the power of the Spaniſh monarchy[o].

THE ſubſequent meaſures of the Scottiſh reformers tended ſtill more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely maſters of the kingdom, they made no farther ceremony or ſcruple, in fully effecting their

[n] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 593. Keith, p. 137. Spotſwood, p. 147. Knox, p. 229. [o] Forbes, vol. i. p. 354. 372. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 452.

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purpoſe. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed, that a parliament or convention ſhould ſoon be aſſembled; and the leaders of the congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots ſhould ratify that treaty, thought themſelves fully entitled, without the ſovereign's authority, immediately to ſummon a parliament. The reformers preſented a petition to this aſſembly; in which they were not contented with deſiring the eſtabliſhment of their doctrine; they alſo applied for the puniſhment of the catholics, whom they called vaſſals to the Roman harlot; and they aſſerted, that, among all the rabble of the clergy, ſuch is their expreſſion, there was not one lawful miniſter; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be ſuffered in any reformed commonwealth[p]. The parliament ſeem to have been actuated by the ſame ſpirit of rage and perſecution. After ratifying a confeſſion of faith, agreeable to the new doctrines, they paſſed a ſtatute againſt the maſs, and not only aboliſhed it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was preſent at it, ſhould be chaſtiſed, for the firſt offence, with confiſcation of goods and corporal puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the magiſtrate; for the ſecond, with baniſhment; and for the third, with loſs of life[q]. A law was alſo voted for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scotland: The preſbyterian form of diſcipline was ſettled, leaving only at firſt ſome ſhadow of authority to certain eccleſiaſtics, whom they called Superintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injuſtice committed on them by the invaſion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till, at laſt, theſe eccleſiaſtics, tired with fruitleſs attendance, departed the town. They were then

[p] Knox, p. 237, 238. [q] Ibid. p. 254.

cited

cited to appear; and as nobody preſented himſelf, it was voted by the parliament, that the eccleſiaſtics were entirely ſatisfied, and found no reaſon of complaint. 1560.

Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was ſent over to France to obtain the ratification of theſe acts; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament, ſummoned without the royal conſent; and ſhe refuſed her ſanction to thoſe ſtatutes. But the proteſtants gave themſelves little concern about their queen's refuſal. They immediately put the ſtatutes in execution: They aboliſhed the maſs; they ſettled their miniſters; they committed every where furious devaſtations on the monaſteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took poſſeſſion, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority ſufficient to incite them to war and inſurrection, could not reſtrain their rapacity; and fanaticiſm concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The proteſtant nobility and gentry, united by the conſciouſneſs of ſuch unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new poſſeſſions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the houſe of Guiſe, ſaw no ſafety for themſelves but in the protection of England; and they diſpatched Morton, Glencairne, and Lidington to expreſs their ſincere gratitude to the queen for her paſt favours, and repreſent to her the neceſſity of continuing them.

French affairs.

Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reaſon to maintain a union with the Scottiſh proteſtants; and ſoon found that the houſe of Guiſe, notwithſtanding their former diſappointments, had not laid aſide the deſign of conteſting her title, and ſubverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whoſe counſels were wholly directed by

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them, refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and ſhowed no diſpoſition to give her any ſatisfaction for that mortal affront, which they had put upon her, by their openly aſſuming the title and arms of England. She was ſenſible of the danger attending ſuch pretenſions; and it was with pleaſure ſhe heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the oppoſition which had ariſen againſt the meaſures of the duke of Guiſe. That ambitious prince, ſupported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no leſs ambitious than himſelf, had engroſſed all the authority of the crown; and as he was poſſeſſed of every quality, which could command the eſteem or ſeduce the affections of men, there appeared no end of his acquiſitions and pretenſions. The conſtable, Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: The princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: The queen-mother herſelf, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining: And as Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his conſort, who knew no law but the pleaſure of her uncles, men deſpaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aſpiring family. It was the conteſts of religion which firſt inſpired the French with courage openly to oppoſe their unlimited authority.

THE theological diſputes, firſt ſtarted in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago penetrated into France; and as they were aſſiſted by the general diſcontent againſt the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous ſpirit of the age, the proſelytes to the new religion

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gion were ſecretly encreaſing in every province. Henry II. in imitation of his father Francis, had oppoſed the progreſs of the reformers; and though a prince addicted to pleaſure and ſociety, he was tranſported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predeceſſor. Rigorous puniſhments had been inflicted on the moſt eminent of the proteſtant party; and a point of honour ſeemed to have ariſen, whether the one ſect could exerciſe, or the other ſuffer, moſt barbarity. The death of Henry put ſome ſtop to the perſecutions; and the people, who had admired the conſtancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and arguments. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were poſſeſſed of the legal authority, thought it their intereſt to ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal ſtatutes, they neceſſarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild diſpoſitions, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, who poſſeſſed many great qualities, having declared themſelves in favour of the proteſtants, that ſect acquired new force from their countenance; and the admiral, Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer ſcrupled to make open profeſſion of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, who was believed ſincere in his attachment to the new doctrine, and his great reputation, both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the reformers; and after a fruſtrated attempt of the malcontents to ſeize the king's perſon at Amboiſe, of which Elizabeth had probably ſome intelligence[r], every place was full of diſtrac-

[r] Forbes, vol. i. p. 214. Throgmorton, about this time, unwilling to entruſt to letters the great ſecrets committed to him, obtained leave, under ſome pretext, to come over to London.

tion,

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tion, and matters haſtened to an open rupture between the parties. But the houſe of Guiſe, though theſe factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cauſe of Elizabeth's ſucceſs, were determined not to relinquiſh their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of ſeizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into priſon; they obtained a ſentence of death againſt the latter; and they were proceeding to put the ſentence into execution, when the king's ſudden death ſaved the noble priſoner, and interrupted the proſperity of the duke of Guiſe.

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4th Dec. 1561. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her ſon Charles IX. now in his minority: The king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom: The ſentence againſt Condé was annulled: The conſtable was recalled to court: And the family of Guiſe, though they ſtill enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoiſe to their authority.

ELIZABETH was determined to make advantage of theſe events againſt the queen of Scots, whom ſhe ſtill regarded as a dangerous rival. She ſaw herſelf freed from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretenſions of ſo powerful a prince as Francis; but ſhe conſidered, at the ſame time, that the Engliſh catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princeſs with more zealous attachment, when they ſaw, that her ſucceſſion no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambaſſador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able miniſter, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. But though

though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

MEANWHILE, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's life-time, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Lord James, who had been sent in deputation from the states to invite her over, seconded these intentions; and she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oisel, for a safe-conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England[s]: But she received for answer, that, till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. This denial excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to gratify his mistress in a demand, which he represented as so reasonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to him, "How weak I may prove, "or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: However, I am resolved not to have so many "witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her "audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing "disturbs me so much, as the having asked, with so "much importunity, a favour which it was of no conse-"quence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, re-"turn to my own country without *her* leave; as I came "to France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, "king Edward: Neither do I want friends both able and

[s] Goodall, vol. i. p. 175.

"willing

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" willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me " hither; though I was desirous rather to make an ex- " periment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assist- " ance of any other person. I have often heard you say, " that a good correspondence between her and my- " self would conduce much to the security and happi- " ness of both our kingdoms: Were she well convinced " of this truth, she would hardly have denied me so " small a request. But, perhaps, she bears a better in- " clination to my rebellious subjects than to me, their " sovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near rela- " tion, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Be- " sides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands: I " neither trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs " of her state: Not that I am ignorant, that there are " now in England a great many malcontents, who are " no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased " to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the " world: I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. " However, I am already old enough to acquit myself " honestly and courteously to my friends and relations, " and to encourage no reports of your mistress, which " would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I " would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as " well as she, and not altogether friendless: And, per- " haps, I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we " should be upon a level in our treatment of each other. " As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom, " I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; and " I am the more intent on my journey, in order to " make the quicker dispatch in this affair. But she, it " seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she " will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not " to be satisfied; perhaps, on purpose to keep up the " disagreement between us. She has often reproach-

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"ed me with my being young; and I muſt be very "young, indeed, and as ill-adviſed, to treat of matters "of ſuch great concern and importance, without the "advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting "in all friendly offices to her; but ſhe diſbelieves or "overlooks them. I could heartily wiſh, that I were as "nearly allied to her in affection as in blood: For that, "indeed, would be a moſt valuable alliance[t]." 1561.

SUCH a ſpirited reply, notwithſtanding the obliging terms interſperſed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendſhip between theſe rival princeſſes, or cure thoſe mutual jealouſies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of purſuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and paſſing the Engliſh fleet in a fog, arrived ſafely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marqueſs of Elbeuf, together with the marqueſs of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and ſituation was very little agreeable to that princeſs. Beſides her natural prepoſſeſſions in favour of a country in which ſhe had been educated from her earlieſt infancy, and where ſhe had borne ſo high a rank, ſhe could not forbear both regretting the ſociety of that people, ſo celebrated for their humane diſpoſition, and their reſpectful attachment to their ſovereign, and reflecting on the diſparity of the ſcene which lay before her. It is ſaid, that, after ſhe was embarked at Calais, ſhe kept her eyes fixed on the coaſt of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkneſs fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be ſpread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that, if in the morning the land were ſtill in ſight, he

19th Aug. Arrival of Mary in Scotland.

[t] Cabalia, p. 374. Spotſwood, p. 177.

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ſhould awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, ſo that the ſhip made little way in the night-time: And Mary had once more an opportunity of ſeeing the French coaſt. She ſat up on her couch, and ſtill looking towards the land, often repeated theſe words: "Farewell France, farewell: I "ſhall never ſee thee more[u]." The firſt aſpect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleaſure and happineſs, at leaſt to her repoſe and ſecurity, than ſhe had reaſon to apprehend. No ſooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the ſhore, with an earneſt impatience to behold and receive their young ſovereign. Some were led by duty, ſome by intereſt, ſome by curioſity; and all combined to expreſs their attachment to her, and to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence, on the commencement of her adminiſtration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and amiable beauty of her perſon were farther recommended by the affability of her addreſs, the politeneſs of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accompliſhed in all the ſuperficial, but engaging graces of a court, ſhe afforded, when better known, ſtill more promiſing indications of her character; and men prognoſticated both humanity from her ſoft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taſte in all the refined arts of muſic, eloquence, and poetry[w]. And as the Scots had long been deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, whom they once deſpaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but ſymptoms of affection, joy, and feſtivity.

[u] Keith, p. 179. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 483. [w] Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 9. Spotſwood, p. 178, 179. Keith, p. 180. Thuan. lib. xxix. c. 2.

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THE firſt meaſures, which Mary embraced, confirmed all the prepoſſeſſions entertained in her favour. She followed the advice given her in France by D'Oiſel and the biſhop of Amiens, as well as her uncles; and ſhe beſtowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greateſt influence over the people, and who, ſhe found, were alone able to ſupport her government. Her brother, lord James, whom ſhe ſoon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lidington, ſecretary of ſtate, a man of great ſagacity, had a principal ſhare in her confidence. By the vigour of theſe men's meaſures ſhe endeavoured to eſtabliſh order and juſtice in a country, divided by public factions and private feuds; and that fierce, intractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, ſeemed, for a time, to ſubmit peaceably to her gentle and prudent adminiſtration.

BUT there was one circumſtance which blaſted all theſe promiſing appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour, which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment gave her juſt reaſon to expect. She was ſtill a papiſt; and though ſhe publiſhed, ſoon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a perſon polluted with ſo great an abomination, nor lay aſide their jealouſies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion for ſaying maſs in her own chapel; and had not the people apprehended, that, if ſhe had here met with a refuſal, ſhe would inſtantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that ſmall indulgence. The cry was, "Shall "we ſuffer that idol to be again erected within the "realm?" It was aſſerted in the pulpit, that one maſs was more terrible than ten thouſand armed men landed to

invade

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1561. invade the kingdom[x]; Lord Lindeſey, and the gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed, "That the idolator ſhould die "the death;" ſuch was their expreſſion. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worſhip, was attacked and inſulted in the court of the palace. And if lord James, and ſome popular leaders, had not interpoſed, the moſt dangerous uproar was juſtly apprehended, from the ungoverned fury of the multitude[y]. The uſual prayers in the churches were to this purpoſe: That God would turn the queen's heart, which was obſtinate againſt him and his truth; or if his holy will be otherwiſe, that he would ſtrengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, ſtoutly to oppoſe the rage of all tyrants[z]. Nay, it was openly called in queſtion, whether that princeſs, being an idolatreſs, was entitled to any authority, even in civil matters[a]?

THE helpleſs queen was every moment expoſed to contumely, which ſhe bore with benignity and patience. Soon after her arrival ſhe dined in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and it was there contrived, that a boy, ſix years of age, ſhould be let down from the roof, and ſhould preſent her with a bible, a pſalter, and the keys of the caſtle. Leſt ſhe ſhould be at a loſs to underſtand this inſult on her as a papiſt, all the decorations expreſſed the burning of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other puniſhments inflicted by God upon idolatry[b]. The town council of Edinburgh had the aſſurance, from their own authority, to iſſue a proclamation, baniſhing from their diſtrict "all "the wicked rabble of antichriſt, the pope, ſuch as "prieſts, monks, friars, together with adulterers and for-"nicators[c]." And becauſe the privy-council ſuſpended the magiſtrates for their inſolence, the paſſionate hiſto-

[x] Knox, p. 287. [y] Ibid. p. 284, 285. 287. Spotſwood, p. 179.
[z] Keith, p. 179. [a] Ibid. p. 202. [b] Ibid. p. 189.
[c] Ibid. p. 192.

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rians [d] of that age have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a ſympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It appears probable, that the magiſtrates were afterwards reinſtated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed [e].

But all the inſolence of the people was inconſiderable in compariſon of that which was exerciſed by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princeſs. The aſſembly of the church framed an addreſs, in which, after telling her, that her maſs was a baſtard ſervice of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the ſource of every evil which abounded in the realm; they expreſſed their hopes, that ſhe would, ere this time, have preferred truth to her own preconceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they aſſured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They ſaid, that the preſent abuſes of government were ſo enormous, that, if a ſpeedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail in his anger to ſtrike the head and the tail, the diſobedient prince and ſinful people. They required, that ſevere puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators. And they concluded with demanding for themſelves ſome addition both of power and property [f].

The ringleader in all theſe inſults on majeſty was John Knox; who poſſeſſed an uncontrouled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious uſage of his ſovereign. His uſual appellation for the queen was Jezabel; and though ſhe endeavoured, by the moſt gracious condeſcenſion, to win his favour, all her inſinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promiſed him acceſs to her whenever he demanded it; and ſhe even

[d] Knox, p. 292. Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 20. Haynes, vol. i. p. 372.
[e] Keith, p. 202. [f] Knox, p. 311, 312.

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deſired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the whole people: But he plainly told her, that he had a public miniſtry entruſted to him; that if ſhe would come to church, ſhe ſhould there hear the goſpel of truth; and that it was not his buſineſs to apply to every individual, nor had he leiſure for that occupation [g]. The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of ſedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condeſcended ſo far as to tell the queen, that he would ſubmit to her, in the ſame manner as Paul did to Nero [h]; he remained not long in this dutiful ſtrain. He ſaid to her, that "Samuel feared not to ſlay Agag, the "fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had "ſaved: Neither ſpared Elias Jezabel's falſe prophets, "and Baal's prieſts, though king Ahab was preſent. "Phineas," added he, "was no magiſtrate; yet feared "he not to ſtrike Coſbi and Zimri in the very act "of filthy fornication. And ſo, Madam, your grace "may ſee, that others than chief magiſtrates may law-"fully inflict puniſhment on ſuch crimes as are con-"demned by the law of God [i]." Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book againſt female ſucceſſion to the crown: The title of it is, *The firſt blaſt of the trumpet againſt the monſtrous regimen of women.* He was too proud either to recant the tenets of this book, or even to apologize for them; and his conduct ſhewed, that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the female ſex.

THE whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of theſe men, filled with bitterneſs and ſorrow. This ruſtic apoſtle ſcruples not, in his hiſtory, to inform us, that he once treated her with ſuch ſeverity, that ſhe loſt all com-

[g] Knox, p. 310. [h] Ibid. p. 288. [i] Ibid. p. 326.

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mand of temper, and diſſolved in tears before him: Yet ſo far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity reduced to that condition, he perſevered in his inſolent reproofs; and when he relates this incident, he diſcovers a viſible pride and ſatisfaction in his own conduct [k]. The pulpits had become mere ſcenes of railing againſt the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feaſting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their neceſſary attendant [l]. Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time wore upon their petticoats, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed, that ſuch vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only againſt theſe fooliſh women, but againſt the whole realm [m].

MARY, whoſe age, condition, and education invited her to liberty and cheerfulneſs, was curbed in all amuſements, by the abſurd ſeverity of theſe reformers; and ſhe found every moment reaſon to regret her leaving that country, from whoſe manners ſhe had, in her early youth, received the firſt impreſſions [n]. Her two uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, ſoon took leave of her: The marquis of Elbeuf remained ſome time longer; but after his departure, ſhe was left to the ſociety of her own ſubjects; men unacquainted with the pleaſures of converſation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted, beyond their uſual ruſticity, by a diſmal fanaticiſm, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary had made no attempt to reſtore the ancient religion, her popery was a ſufficient crime: Though her behaviour was hitherto irreproachable, and her manners ſweet and engaging, her gaiety and eaſe were interpreted as ſigns of diſſolute vanity. And to the harſh and pre-

[k] *Knox*, p. 332, 333. [l] Ibid. p. 322. [m] Ibid. p. 330.
[n] Ibid. p. 294.

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poſterous uſage, which this princeſs met with, may, in part, be aſcribed thoſe errors of her ſubſequent conduct, which ſeemed ſo little of a piece with the general tenor of her character.

THERE happened to the marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, an adventure, which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her ſituation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwel, and ſome other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a viſit to a woman called Aliſon Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and becauſe they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thruſt open the door, and committed ſome diſorders, in ſearching for the damſel. It happened, that the aſſembly of the church was ſitting at that time, and they immediately took the matter under their cognizance. In conjunction with ſeveral of the nobility, they preſented an addreſs to the queen, which was introduced with this awful prelude: "To the queen's "majeſty, and to her ſecret and great council, her "grace's faithful and obedient ſubjects, the profeſſors of "Chriſt Jeſus's holy evangil, wiſh the ſpirit of righte-"ous judgment." The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her grace, and the terrible threatenings denounced by God againſt every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the ſevere puniſhment of ſuch as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God againſt the whole realm: That the iniquity, of which they complained, was ſo heinous and ſo horrible, that they ſhould eſteem themſelves accomplices in it, if they had been engaged by worldly fear, or ſervile complaiſance, to paſs it over in ſilence, or bury it in oblivion: That as they owed her grace obedience in the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſo were they entitled to require

require of her, in return, the ſharp and condign puniſhment of this enormity, which, they repeated it, might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom: And that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aſide all private affections towards the actors in ſo heinous a crime, and ſo enormous a villany, and without delay bring them to a trial, and inflict the ſevereſt penalties upon them. The queen gave a gracious reception to this peremptory addreſs; but becauſe ſhe probably thought, that breaking the windows of a brothel merited not ſuch ſevere reprehenſion, ſhe only replied, that her uncle was a ſtranger, and that he was attended by a young company: But ſhe would put ſuch order to him and to all others, that her ſubjects ſhould henceforth have no reaſon to complain. Her paſſing over this incident ſo ſlightly was the ſource of great diſcontent, and was regarded as a proof of the moſt profligate manners[o]. It is not to be omitted, that Aliſon Craig, the cauſe of all the uproar, was known to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was, without ſcruple, indulged in that enormity[p].

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Some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her abſence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the moſt conſiderable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy ſacraments, he there ſaid, are abuſed by profane papiſts; the maſs has been ſaid; and in worſhipping that idol, the prieſts have omitted no ceremony, not even the conjuring of their accurſed water, that had ever been practiſed in the time of the greateſt blindneſs. Theſe violent meaſures for oppoſing juſtice were little

[o] Knox, p. 302, 303, 304. Keith, p. 509. [p] Knox. ibid.

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ſhort of rebellion; and Knox was ſummoned before the council to anſwer for his offence. The courage of the man was equal to his inſolence. He ſcrupled not to tell the queen, that the peſtilent papiſts, who had inflamed her againſt theſe holy men, were the ſons of the devil; and muſt therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manſlayer from the beginning. The matter ended with the full acquittal of Knox[q]. Randolf, the Engliſh ambaſſador in Scotland, had reaſon to write to Cecil, ſpeaking of the Scottiſh nation: "I think marvellouſly of the wiſdom "of God, that gave this unruly, inconſtant, and "cumberſome people no more power nor ſubſtance: For "they would otherwiſe run wild[r]."

We have related theſe incidents at greater length, than the neceſſity of our ſubject may ſeem to require: But even trivial circumſtances, which ſhow the manners of the age, are often more inſtructive, as well as entertaining, than the great tranſactions of wars and negociations, which are nearly ſimilar in all periods and in all countries of the world.

The reformed clergy in Scotland had, at that time, a very natural reaſon for their ill-humour; namely, the poverty, or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at firſt laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any proviſion for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their poſſeſſions. The ſecular clergy of the catholic communion, though they loſt all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſtill held ſome of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themſelves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themſelves by the plunder of the church. The new

[q] Knox, p. 336. 342. [r] Keith, p. 202.

teachers

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teachers had hitherto ſubſiſted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious ſentiments, this eſtabliſhment was regarded as very ſcanty and very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal ſettlement to the preachers; and though almoſt every thing in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their requeſt was at laſt complied with. The fanatical ſpirit which they indulged, and their induſtry in decrying the principles and practices of the Romiſh communion, which placed ſuch merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very ſenſible obſtacle to their acquiſitions. The convention, however, paſſed a vote[s], by which they divided all the eccleſiaſtical benefices into twenty-one ſhares: They aſſigned fourteen to the ancient poſſeſſors: Of the remaining ſeven they granted three to the crown; and if that were found to anſwer the public expences, they beſtowed the overplus on the reformed miniſters. The queen was empowered to levy all the ſeven; and it was ordained, that ſhe ſhould afterwards pay to the clergy what ſhould be judged to ſuffice for their maintenance. The neceſſities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the ſmall affection which Mary bore to the proteſtant eccleſiaſtics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, were neceſſitated to betake themſelves to other expedients for ſupporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, moroſe manners, a vulgar and familiar, yet myſterious cant; and though the liberality of ſubſequent princes put them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby cor-

[s] Knox, p. 296. Keith, p. 210.

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rected in some degree those bad habits; it must be confessed, that, while many other advantages attend presbyterian government, these inconveniencies are not easily separated from the genius of that ecclesiastical polity.

The queen of Scots, destitute of all force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, soon found, that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with [t] Elizabeth, who, by former connexions and services, had acquired such authority over all these ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary Lidington was sent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation (for the difference between these securities was not then deemed very considerable), be declared successor to the crown. No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: That though her ambassadors, and those of her husband, the French king, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even, as some endeavoured to persuade

[t] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 456.

her,

her, had incurred ſome danger in croſſing the ſeas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: That her partizans every where had ſtill the aſſurance to inſiſt on her title, and had preſumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: That while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, ſo far from being openly renounced, was only ſuſpended till a more favourable opportunity, it would, in her, be the moſt egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the ſucceſſor: That no expedient could be worſe imagined for cementing friendſhip than ſuch a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their ſucceſſors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was leſs intimate, and when ſuch cauſe of diſguſt and jealouſy had already been given, and indeed was ſtill continued, on the part of Mary: That though ſhe was willing, from the amity which ſhe bore her kinſwoman, to aſcribe her former pretenſions to the advice of others, by whoſe direction ſhe was then governed; her preſent refuſal to relinquiſh them could proceed only from her own prepoſſeſſions, and was a proof that ſhe ſtill harboured ſome dangerous deſigns againſt her: That it was the nature of all men to be diſguſted with the preſent, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their ſervices ill rewarded, to expect a better recompence from the ſucceſſor; and ſhe ſhould eſteem herſelf ſcarcely half a ſovereign over the Engliſh, if they ſaw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority againſt her own repoſe and ſafety: That ſhe knew the inconſtant nature of the people; ſhe was acquainted with the preſent diviſions in religion; ſhe was not ignorant that the ſame party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did alſo imagine that the title of that princeſs was ſu-

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perior to her own: That for her part, whatever claims were advanced, ſhe was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the buſineſs of others to examine who had the beſt pretenſions, either by the laws or by the right of blood, to the ſucceſſion: That ſhe hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found ſolid; and, conſidering the injury which ſhe herſelf had received, it was ſufficient indulgence, if ſhe promiſed, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any reſpect, weaken or invalidate it: And that Mary, if her title were really preferable, a point which, for her own part, ſhe had never enquired into, poſſeſſed all advantages above her rivals; who, deſtitute both of preſent power, and of all ſupport by friends, would only expoſe themſelves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful, pretenſions [u].

THESE views of the queen were ſo prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: But that ſhe might put the matter to a fuller proof, ſhe offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, ſo as to leave no ſuſpicion of their excluding Mary's right of ſucceſſion [w]; and in this form ſhe again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at laſt came to this iſſue, that Mary agreed to the propoſal, and offered to renounce all preſent pretenſions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the ſucceſſor [x]. But ſuch was the jealous character of this latter princeſs, that ſhe never would conſent to ſtrengthen the intereſt and authority of any claimant, by fixing the ſucceſſion; much leſs would ſhe make this conceſſion in favour of a rival queen, who poſſeſſed ſuch plauſible pretenſions for the preſent, and who, though

u Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 14—17. Camden, p. 385. Spotſwood, p. 180, 181. w Ibid. p. 181. x Hayne, vol. i. p. 377.

ſhe

she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Mary's proposal, however, bore so specious an appearance of equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that reason would, by superficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention of the matter; and, though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other. CH. P. XXXVIII. 1561.

Wise government of Elizabeth.

The queen observed, that, even without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects; and, instead of giving Scotland, for the present, any inquietude or disturbance, she employed herself, more usefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happiness of her people. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gun-powder and brass-cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly stiled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas [y]. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprizes, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects

[y] Camden, p. 388. Strype, vol. i. p. 230. 336. 337.

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of a vigorous perſeverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

1561. It is eaſy to imagine that ſo great a princeſs, who enjoyed ſuch ſingular felicity and renown, would receive propoſals of marriage from every one that had any likelihood of ſucceeding; and though ſhe had made ſome public declarations in favour of a ſingle life, few believed that ſhe would perſevere for ever in that reſolution. The archduke, Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor [z], as well as Caſimir, ſon of the elector Palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince profeſſed the reformed religion, he thought himſelf, on that account, better entitled to ſucceed in his addreſſes. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holſtein, were encouraged, by the ſame views, to become ſuitors: And the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the ſtates of that kingdom, recommended to her as a ſuitable marriage. Even ſome of her own ſubjects, though they did not openly declare their pretenſions, entertained hopes of ſucceſs. The earl of Arundel, a perſon declining in years, but deſcended from an ancient and noble family, as well as poſſeſſed of great riches, flattered himſelf with this proſpect; as did alſo Sir William Pickering, a man much eſteemed for his perſonal merit. But the perſon moſt likely to ſucceed, was a younger ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to addreſs and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counſels. The leſs worthy he appeared of this diſtinction, the more was his great favour aſcribed to ſome violent affection, which could thus ſeduce the judgment of this penetrating princeſs; and men long

[z] Haynes, vol. i. p. 233.

expected,

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expected, that he would obtain the preference above ſo many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all theſe ſuitors a gentle refuſal, which ſtill encouraged their purſuit; and ſhe thought that ſhe ſhould the better attach them to her intereſts if they were ſtill allowed to entertain hopes of ſucceeding in their pretenſions. It is alſo probable, that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though ſhe was determined in her own mind never to ſhare her power with any man, ſhe was not diſpleaſed with the courtſhip, ſolicitation, and profeſſions of love, which the deſire of acquiring ſo valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

WHAT is moſt ſingular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth, is, that though ſhe determined never to have any heir of her own body, ſhe was not only very averſe to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown; but ſeems alſo to have reſolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion ſhould ever have any heirs or ſucceſſors. If the excluſion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the poſterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland, was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the houſe of Suffolk; and the lady Catharine Gray, younger ſiſter to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, ſon of the earl of Pembroke; but, having been divorced from that nobleman, ſhe had made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, ſon of the protector; and her huſband, ſoon after conſummation, travelled into France. In a little time ſhe appeared to be pregnant, which ſo enraged Elizabeth, that ſhe threw her into the Tower, and ſummoned Hertford to appear, in order to anſwer for his miſdemeanor. He made no ſcruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's conſent, was entirely ſuitable to both parties;

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parties; and for this offence he was alſo committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's ſeverity ſtopped not here: She iſſued a commiſſion to enquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witneſſes, the commerce between him and his conſort was declared unlawful, and their poſterity illegitimate. They were ſtill detained in cuſtody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourſe; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a freſh ſource of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds be ſet on Hertford by the ſtar-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and ſevere. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty[a]. This extreme ſeverity muſt be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealouſy of the queen, who was afraid leſt a pretender to the ſucceſſion ſhould acquire credit by having iſſue; or by her malignity, which, with all her great qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy, in others, thoſe natural pleaſures of love and poſterity, of which her own ambition and deſire of dominion made her renounce all proſpect for herſelf.

THERE happened, about this time, ſome other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and deſcended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Forteſcue, who had married a ſiſter of theſe gentlemen, and ſome other perſons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of ſoliciting ſuccours from the duke of Guiſe, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole, duke

[a] Haynes, vol. i. p. 369. 378. 396. Camden, p. 389. Heylin, p. 154.

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of Clarence. They confeſſed the indictment, but aſſerted, that they never meant to execute theſe projects during the queen's life-time: They had only deemed ſuch precautions requiſite in caſe of her demiſe, which ſome pretenders to judicial aſtrology had aſſured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury; but received a pardon from the queen's clemency [h].

h Strype, vol. i. p. 333. Heylin, p. 154.

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State of Europe—Civil wars of France—Havre de Grace put in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh—A Parliament—Havre loſt—Affairs of Scotland—The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley—Confederacy againſt the Proteſtants—Murder of Rizzio—A parliament—Murder of Darnley—Queen of Scots marries Bothwel—Inſurrections in Scotland—Impriſonment of Mary—Mary flies into England—Conferences at York and Hampton Court.

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1562. State of Europe.

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flouriſhing kingdom, during the courſe of near forty years, a ſcene of horror and devaſtation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animoſity, firſt political, then perſonal, broke out between the ſovereigns of theſe countries.

PHILIP II. of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great induſtry and ſagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterprizes, an unuſual foreſight in all his meaſures; and as he was ever cool and ſeemingly unmoved by paſſion, and poſſeſſed neither talents nor inclination for war, both his ſubjects and his neighbours had reaſon to expect juſtice, happineſs, and tranquillity, from his adminiſtration. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects as ever paſſion had on any other monarch; and the ſpirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims

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ims which governed his counſels, excited the moſt violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the moſt enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combuſtion.

AFTER Philip had concluded peace at Cateau-Cambreſis, and had remained ſome time in the Netherlands, in order to ſettle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and as the gravity of that nation, with their reſpectful obedience to their prince, had appeared more agreeable to his humour than the homely familiar manners, and the pertinacious liberty of the Flemings, it was expected that he would, for the future, reſide altogether at Madrid, and would govern all his extenſive dominions by Spaniſh miniſters and Spaniſh counſels. Having met with a violent tempeſt on his voyage, he no ſooner arrived in harbour than he fell on his knees; and, after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed that his life, which was thus providentally ſaved, ſhould thenceforth be entirely devoted to the extirpation of hereſy[c]. His ſubſequent conduct correſponded to theſe profeſſions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let looſe the rage of perſecution againſt all who profeſſed them, or were ſuſpected of adhering to them; and by his violence he gave new edge, even to the uſual cruelty of prieſts and inquiſitors. He threw into priſon Conſtantine Ponce, who had been confeſſor to his father, the emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whoſe arms that great monarch had terminated his life: And after this eccleſiaſtic died in confinement, he ſtill ordered him to be tried and condemned for hereſy, and his ſtatue to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated whether he ſhould not exerciſe like ſeverity againſt the memory of his father, who was ſuſpected, during his later years, to have indulged a pro-

[c] Thuanus, lib. xxiii. cap. 14.

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penſity towards the Lutheran principles: In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition: He was preſent, with an inflexible countenance, at the moſt barbarous executions: He iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: And, having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent to all his ſubjects, that there was no method, except the moſt entire compliance, or moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, to eſcape or elude the ſeverity of his vengeance.

DURING that extreme animoſity, which prevailed between the adherents of the oppoſite religions, the civil magiſtrate, who found it difficult, if not impoſſible, for the ſame laws to govern ſuch enraged adverſaries, was naturally led, by ſpecious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war againſt the other, and to exterminate, by fire and ſword, thoſe bigots, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an oppoſition of his power, and to a hatred of his perſon. If any prince poſſeſſed ſuch enlarged views as to foreſee that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy, which, though certain, muſt neceſſarily be ſlow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by ſelf-intereſt, ſeems alſo to have been himſelf actuated by an imperious bigotry; and, as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could eaſily palliate the gratification of his natural temper under the colour of wiſdom, and find, in this ſyſtem, no leſs advantage to his foreign than his domeſtic politics. By placing himſelf at the head of the catholic party, he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partizans of Spaniſh greatneſs; and by

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by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he ſeduced, every where, the ſubjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native ſovereign.

THE courſe of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a ſituation diametrically oppoſite; and had raiſed her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the ſupport of the numerous, though ſtill perſecuted, proteſtants throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, ſhe found, with pleaſure, that the principles of her ſect required not ſuch extreme ſeverity in her domeſtic government as was exerciſed by that monarch; and, having no object but ſelf-preſervation, ſhe united her intereſts in all foreign negociations with thoſe who were every where ſtruggling under oppreſſion, and guarding themſelves againſt ruin and extermination. The more virtuous ſovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cauſe; and fortune, in this inſtance, concurred with policy and nature.

DURING the lifetime of Henry II. of France, and of his ſucceſſor, the force of theſe principles was ſomewhat reſtrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a ſuperior intereſt; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, engaged Philip to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which ſhe ſent him; he refuſed to ratify the ancient league between the houſe of Burgundy and England[d]; he furniſhed ſhips to tranſport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was haſtening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wiſeſt miniſters ſtill regarded his friendſhip as hollow and precarious[e]. But no ſooner did the death of Francis II.

[d] Digges's Complete Ambaſſador, p. 369. Haynes, p. 485. Strype, vol. iv. No. 246.

[e] Haynes, vol. i. p. 280, 281, 283, 284.

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put an end to Philip's apprehenſions with regard to Mary's ſucceſſion, than his animoſity againſt Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the intereſts of Spain and thoſe of England were found oppoſite in every negociation and tranſaction.

THE two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, being poſſeſſed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagoniſts; and England, from its power and ſituation, was intitled to ſupport its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depreſs one of theſe rival powers, as it left the other without controul, might be deemed contrary to the intereſts of England: Yet ſo much were theſe great maxims of policy over-ruled, during that age, by the diſputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in ſupporting the eſtabliſhed government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

Civil wars of France.

THE queen-regent of France, when reinſtated in authority by the death of her ſon, Francis, had formed a plan of adminiſtration more ſubtle than judicious; and, balancing the catholics with the hugonots, the duke of Guiſe with the prince of Condé, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience[f]. But the equal counterpoiſe of power, which, among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquillity, proves always the ground of quarrel between domeſtic factions; and if the animoſity of religion concur with the frequent occaſions which preſent themſelves of mutual injury, it is impoſſible, during any time, to preſerve a firm concord in ſo delicate a ſituation. The conſtable, Montmorency, moved by zeal for the ancient faith, joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe: The king of Navarre, from his inconſtant tem-

[f] Davila, lib. ii.

per,

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per, and his jealouſy of the ſuperior genius of his brother, embraced the ſame party: And Catherine, finding herſelf depreſſed by this combination, had recourſe to Condé and the hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themſelves by her countenance and protection[g]. An edict had been publiſhed, granting a toleration to the proteſtants; but the intereſted violence of the duke of Guiſe, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual inſults and injuries. Condé, Coligni, Andelot, aſſembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guiſe and Montmorency got poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and conſtrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France[h]: Each province, each city, each family, was agitated with inteſtine rage and animoſity. The father was divided againſt the ſon; brother againſt brother; and women themſelves, ſacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of ferocity and valour[i]. Wherever the hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demoliſhed, the monaſteries conſumed with fire: Where ſucceſs attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, conſtrained married perſons to paſs anew through the nuptial ceremony: And plunder, deſolation, and bloodſhed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itſelf, the ſeat of law and juſtice, inſtead of employing its authority to compoſe theſe fatal quarrels, publiſhed an edict, by which it put the ſword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to maſſacre the hugonots[k]; And it

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g Davila, lib. iii. h Father Paul, lib. vii. i Ibid.
k Ibid. Haynes, p. 391.

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was during this period, when men began to be ſomewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for poliſhed manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, ſeems to have attained its laſt ſtage of virulence and ferocity.

PHILIP, jealous of the progreſs which the hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would ſpread into the Low Country provinces, had formed a ſecret alliance with the princes of Guiſe, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith, and the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. He now ſent ſix thouſand men, with ſome ſupply of money, to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himſelf unequal to ſo great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to diſpatch the Vidame of Chartres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the aſſiſtance and protection of Elizabeth. Moſt of the province of Normandy was poſſeſſed by the hugonots: And Condé offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the Engliſh; on condition that, together with three thouſand men for the garriſon of that place, the queen ſhould likewiſe ſend over three thouſand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and ſhould furniſh the prince with a ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns[1].

Havre de Grace put in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

ELIZABETH, beſides the general and eſſential intereſt of ſupporting the proteſtants, and oppoſing the rapid progreſs of her enemy the duke of Guiſe, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this propoſal. When ſhe concluded the peace at Cateau-Cambreſis, ſhe had good reaſon to foreſee that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the reſtitution of Calais; and many ſubſequent incidents had tended to confirm this ſuſpicion. Conſiderable ſums of money had been expended on the fortifications; long leaſes had

[1] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 48.

been

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been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and ſettle there, by aſſurances that Calais ſhould never be reſtored to the Engliſh[m]. The queen therefore wiſely concluded, that, could ſhe get poſſeſſion of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, ſhe ſhould eaſily conſtrain the French to execute the treaty, and ſhould have the glory of reſtoring to the crown that ancient poſſeſſion, ſo much the favourite of the nation.

No meaſure could be more generally odious in France, than the concluſion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guiſe, who had finally expelled the Engliſh, and had debarred theſe dangerous and deſtructive enemies from all acceſs into France, with the treaſonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reaſon to repent of this meaſure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected. Three thouſand Engliſh immediately took poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found ſo little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned[n]. The ſiege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a ſmall reinforcement into the place. Though theſe Engliſh troops behaved with gallantry[o], and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the ſiege, the catholics ſtill continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at laſt by aſſault, put the whole garriſon to the ſword. The earl of Warwic, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of North-

[m] Forbes, p. 54. 257. [n] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 199. [o] Ibid, p. 161.

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umberland, arrived ſoon after at Havre with another body of three thouſand Engliſh, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected that the French catholics, flushed with their ſucceſs at Rouen, would immediately have formed the ſiege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom ſoon diverted their attention to another enterpriſe. Andelot, ſeconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable body of proteſtants in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the ſeat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. After threatening Paris during ſome time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themſelves by the farther aſſiſtance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth [p]. The catholics, commanded by the conſtable, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, followed on their rear; and, overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides: And the action was diſtinguiſhed by this ſingular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, fell both of them priſoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guiſe; but the admiral, whoſe fate it ever was to be defeated, and ſtill to riſe more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and inſpiring his own unconquerable courage and conſtancy into every breaſt, kept them in a body, and ſubdued ſome conſiderable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to ſupport his cauſe, ſent him a new ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns; and offered, if

[p] Forbes, p. 310. Davila, lib. iii.

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he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another ſum of equal amount [q]. CHAP. XXXIX.

THE expences, incurred by aſſiſting the French hugonots, had emptied the queen's exchequer; and, in order to obtain ſupply, ſhe found herſelf under a neceſſity of ſummoning a parliament: An expedient to which ſhe never willingly had recourſe. A little before the meeting of this aſſembly ſhe had fallen into a dangerous illneſs, the ſmall-pox; and as her life, during ſome time, was deſpaired of, the people became the more ſenſible of their perilous ſituation, derived from the uncertainty which, in caſe of her demiſe, attended the ſucceſſion of the crown. The partizans of the queen of Scots, and thoſe of the houſe of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foreſaw, that, though it might be poſſible at preſent to determine the controverſy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the ſword would be able to fix a ſucceſſor. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the ſeſſion, voted an addreſs to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful ſucceſſion, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaſter, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehenſions, by chooſing ſome huſband, whom, they promiſed, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to ſerve, honour, and obey: Or, if ſhe had entertained any reluctance to the married ſtate, they deſired that the lawful ſucceſſor might be named, at leaſt appointed, by act of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had paſſed ſince the conqueſt, the nation had never before been ſo unhappy as not to know the perſon, who, in caſe of the ſovereign's death, was legally

1563. January 12. A parliament.

[q] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 322. 347.

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entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they obſerved, that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief ſource of the uſual tranquillity, as well as of the happineſs of that kingdom [r].

THIS ſubject, though extremely intereſting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and ſhe was ſenſible, that great difficulties would attend every deciſion. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a ſettlement perfectly legal; becauſe that princeſs was commonly allowed to poſſeſs the right of blood; and the excluſion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would loſe all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new ſettlement, and reſtored the Scottiſh line to its place in the ſucceſſion. But ſhe dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her ſecret enemies, by this declaration. She was ſenſible that every heir was, in ſome degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, theſe dangerous pretenſions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connections with the houſe of Guiſe, not to mention the force and ſituation of Scotland, was well known to her; and ſhe ſaw no ſecurity that this princeſs, if fortified by a ſure proſpect of ſucceſſion, would not revive claims which ſhe could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquiſh. On the other hand, the title of the houſe of Suffolk was ſupported by the more zealous proteſtants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would beſtow on it ſuch validity as to give ſatisfaction to the people. The republican part of the conſtitution had not yet acquired ſuch an aſcend-

[r] Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journ. p. 81.

ant

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ant as to controul, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was ſtill diſputed, though founded on the utmoſt authority which a parliament could confer; who could be aſſured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had ſtill prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever ſhewn itſelf diſpoſed rather to change its faith than the order of ſucceſſion. Even many proteſtants declared themſelves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance[s]; and nothing would occaſion more general diſguſt, than to ſee the queen, openly and without reſerve, take part againſt it. The Scottiſh princeſs alſo, finding herſelf injured in ſo ſenſible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and, uniting together her foreign and domeſtic friends, the partizans of her preſent title and of her eventual ſucceſſion, would ſoon bring matters to extremities againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment. The queen, weighing all theſe inconveniencies, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining ſtill an ambiguous conduct; and ſhe rather choſe that the people ſhould run the hazard of contingent events, than that ſhe herſelf ſhould viſibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at beſt, would not beſtow entire ſecurity on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evaſive anſwer to the applications of the commons; and when the houſe, at the end of the ſeſſion, deſired, by the mouth of their ſpeaker, farther ſatisfaction on that head, ſhe could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe had fixed no abſolute reſolution againſt marriage; and ſhe added, that the difficulties, attending the queſtion

[s] Keith, p. 322.

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1563. of the ſucceſſion, were ſo great, that ſhe would be contented, for the ſake of her people, to remain ſome time longer in this vale of miſery; and never ſhould depart life with ſatisfaction, till ſhe had laid ſome ſolid foundation for their future ſecurity[t].

THE moſt remarkable law paſſed this ſeſſion, was that which bore the title of *Aſſurance of the queen's royal power over all ſtates and ſubjects within her dominions*[u]. By this act, the aſſerting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority, was ſubjected to the penalties of treaſon. All perſons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of ſupremacy; as alſo, all who were advanced to any degree, either in the univerſities or in common law; all ſchool-maſters, officers in court, or members of parliament: And the penalty of their ſecond refuſal was treaſon. The firſt offence, in both caſes, was puniſhed by baniſhment and forfeiture. This rigorous ſtatute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron; becauſe it was not ſuppoſed that the queen could entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of perſons poſſeſſed of ſuch high dignity. Lord Montacute made oppoſition to the bill; and aſſerted, in favour of the catholics, that they diſputed not, they preached not, they diſobeyed not the queen, they cauſed no trouble, no tumults among the people[w]. It is, however, probable, that ſome ſuſpicions of their ſecret conſpiracies had made the queen and parliament encreaſe their rigour againſt them; though it is alſo more than probable that they were miſtaken in the remedy.

THERE was likewiſe another point, in which the parliament, this ſeſſion, ſhewed more the goodneſs of their intention, than the ſoundneſs of their judgment. They paſſed a law againſt fond and fantaſtical prophecies, which

[t] Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journal, p. 75.
[u] 5 Eliz. c. 1.
[w] Strype, vol. i. p. 260.

had

had been obſerved to ſeduce the people into rebellion and diſorder[x]: But at the ſame time they enacted a ſtatute, which was moſt likely to encreaſe theſe and ſuch like ſuperſtitions: It was levelled againſt conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft[y]. Witchcraft and hereſy are two crimes, which commonly encreaſe by puniſhment, and never are ſo effectually ſuppreſſed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, the ſeſſion was finiſhed by a prorogation. The convocation likewiſe voted the queen a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, payable in three years. CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

WHILE the Engliſh parties exerted theſe calm efforts againſt each other, in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, enflamed to the higheſt degree of animoſity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was ſucceſsful in reducing the towns of Normandy, which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garriſon of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation againſt the common enemy. The queen, in taking poſſeſſion of that place, had publiſhed a manifeſto[z], in which ſhe pretended, that her concern for the intereſts of the French king had engaged her in that meaſure, and that her ſole intention was to oppoſe her enemies of the houſe of Guiſe, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the deſtruction of his beſt and moſt faithful ſubjects. It was chiefly her deſire to preſerve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her ſoldiers in garriſon, and reſtrain them from committing farther hoſ-

[x] 5 Eliz. c. 15. [y] Ibid. c. 16. [z] Forbes, vol. ii.

tilities

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tilities upon the enemy[a]. The duke of Guiſe, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the ſiege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the conſtable was detained priſoner. He had the proſpect of ſpeedy ſucceſs in this undertaking; when he was aſſaſſinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman, whoſe zeal, inſtigated (as is pretended, though without any certain foundation) by the admiral and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterprize. The death of this gallant prince was a ſenſible loſs to the catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, ſtill ſupported the intereſts of the family, the danger of their progreſs appeared not ſo imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French proteſtants. The union, therefore, between theſe allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be leſs intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were perſuaded to hearken to terms of a ſeparate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for ſettling the peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themſelves from captivity, they ſoon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent, whoſe ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by ſubtilty and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plauſible terms; and, in ſpite of the proteſtations of the admiral, whoſe ſagacity could eaſily diſcover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally ſettled between the parties. A toleration, under ſome reſtrictions, was anew granted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed; Condé was reinſtated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment

[a] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 276, 277.

of

of arrears due to the German troops, they were diſmiſſed the kingdom. CHAP. XXXIX.

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By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been ſtipulated [b], that neither party ſhould conclude peace without the conſent of the other; but this article was at preſent but little regarded by the leaders of the French proteſtants. They only comprehended her ſo far in the treaty, as to obtain a promiſe, that, on her relinquiſhing Havre, her charges, and the money which ſhe had advanced them, ſhould be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, ſhould be reſtored to her. But ſhe diſdained to accept of theſe conditions; and thinking the poſſeſſion of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpoſe, ſhe ſent Warwic orders to prepare himſelf againſt an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The earl of Warwic, who commanded a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, beſides ſeven hundred pioneers, had no ſooner got poſſeſſion of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a poſture of defence [c]; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his ſoldiers to make the moſt deſperate defence againſt the enemy. The conſtable commanded the French army; the queen-regent herſelf, and the king, were preſent in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprize; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious ſtill to preſerve the friendſhip of Elizabeth, kept at a diſtance, and prudently refuſed to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

From the force, and diſpoſitions, and ſituations of both ſides, it was expected, that the ſiege would be attended with ſome memorable event; yet did France make a much

[b] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 79. [c] Ibid. p. 158

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much eaſier acquiſition of this important place, than was at firſt apprehended. The plague creeped in among the Engliſh ſoldiers; and being encreaſed by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill ſupplied with proviſions[d]), it made ſuch ravages, that ſometimes a hundred men a-day died of it, and there remained not at laſt fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty[e]. The French, meeting with ſuch feeble reſiſtance, carried on their attacks ſucceſsfully; and having made two breaches, each of them ſixty feet wide, they prepared for a general aſſault, which muſt have terminated in the ſlaughter of the whole garriſon[f]. Warwic, who had frequently warned the Engliſh council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, found himſelf obliged to capitulate, and to content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon. The articles were no ſooner ſigned, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thouſand men; and found the place ſurrendered to the enemy. To encreaſe the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it ſwept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thouſand perſons there died of it in one year[g].

Havre loſt, 28th July.

ELIZABETH, whoſe uſual vigour and foreſight had not appeared in this tranſaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent deſired to obtain leiſure, in order to prepare meaſures for the extermination of the hugonots, ſhe readily hearkened to any reaſonable terms of accommodation with England[h]. It was agreed, that the hoſtages, which the French had given for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be reſtored for 220,000

2d April.

[d] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 377. 498.
[e] Ibid. p. 450. 458.
[f] Ibid. p. 493.
[g] See note [F] at the end of the volume.
[h] Davila, lib. iii.

crowns;

crowns; and that both ſides ſhould retain all their claims and pretenſions. CHAP. XXXIX.

THE peace ſtill continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendſhip ſeemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. Theſe princeſſes made profeſſion of the moſt entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments as well as ſtyle of ſiſters. Elizabeth puniſhed one Hales, who had publiſhed a book againſt Mary's title [i]; and as the lord keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her diſpleaſure, and it was with ſome difficulty he was able to give her ſatisfaction, and recover her favour [k]. The two queens had agreed in the foregoing ſummer to an interview at York [l]; in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to conſider of the proper method for ſettling the ſucceſſion of England: But as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate ſubject, ſhe employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, ſhe ſaid, would detain her in London; and ſhe delayed till next year the intended interview. It is alſo probable, that, being well acquainted with the beauty and addreſs and accompliſhments of Mary, ſhe did not chuſe to ſtand the compariſon with regard to thoſe exterior qualities, in which ſhe was eclipſed by her rival; and was unwilling, that a princeſs, who had already made great progreſs in the eſteem and affections of the Engliſh, ſhould have a farther opportunity of encreaſing the number of her partizans. 1563. Scotch affairs.

MARY's cloſe connections with the houſe of Guiſe, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom ſhe had been early educated and conſtantly protected, was the ground of juſt and unſurmountable jealouſy to Eli-

[i] Keith, p. 252. [k] Ibid. p. 253. [l] Haynes, p. 388.

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zabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's ſon; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might eaſily be freed by a diſpenſation; and they were ready to marry her to any one, who could ſtrengthen their intereſts, or give inquietude and diſturbance to Elizabeth [m]. Elizabeth on her part was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their ſchemes, and was particularly anxious, leſt Mary ſhould form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretenſions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the ſide where it was weakeſt and lay moſt expoſed [n]. As ſhe believed, that the marriage with the archduke Charles was the one moſt likely to have place, ſhe uſed every expedient to prevent it; and beſides remonſtrating againſt it to Mary herſelf, ſhe endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that purſuit, by giving him ſome hopes of ſucceſs in his pretenſions to herſelf, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage [o]. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealouſy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and ſhe offered on this condition to have her title examined, and to declare her ſucceſſor to the crown [p]. After keeping the matter in theſe general terms during a twelvemonth, ſhe at laſt named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leiceſter, as the perſon on whom ſhe deſired that Mary's choice ſhould fall.

[m] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 287. Strype, vol. i. p. 400. [n] Keith, p. 247. 284. [o] Melvil, p. 41. [p] Keith, p. 243. 249. 259. 265.

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THE earl of Leiceſter, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, poſſeſſed all thoſe exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair ſex; a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, an inſinuating behaviour; and by means of theſe accompliſhments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, inſolent, intereſted, ambitious; without honour, without generoſity, without humanity; and atoned not for theſe bad qualities, by ſuch abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high truſt and confidence, with which ſhe always honoured him. Her conſtant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aſpire to her bed; and in order to make way for theſe nuptials, he was univerſally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heireſs of one Robeſart. The propoſal of eſpouſing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always aſcribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him loſe the friendſhip of Mary from the temerity of his pretenſions, and that of Elizabeth from jealouſy of his attachments to another woman [q]. The queen herſelf had not any ſerious intention of effecting this marriage; but as ſhe was deſirous that the queen of Scots ſhould never have any huſband, ſhe named a man, who, ſhe believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and ſhe hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leiceſter was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the proſpect of being declared ſucceſſor to the crown, ſeemed at laſt to hearken to Elizabeth's propoſal, this princeſs receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait,

[q] Camden, p. 396.

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which ſhe had thrown out to her rival [r]. This duplicity of conduct, joined to ſome appearance of an imperious ſuperiority, aſſumed by her, had drawn a peeviſh letter from Mary; and the ſeemingly amicable correſpondence between the two queens was, during ſome time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots diſpatched Sir James Melvil to London; who has given us in his memoirs a particular account of his negociation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of addreſs and converſation; and it was recommended to him by his miſtreſs, that, beſides grave reaſonings concerning politics and ſtate-affairs, he ſhould introduce more entertaining topics of converſation, ſuitable to the ſprightly character of Elizabeth; and ſhould endeavour by that means to inſinuate himſelf into her confidence. He ſucceeded ſo well, that he threw that artful princeſs entirely off her guard [s]; and made her diſcover the bottom of her heart, full of all thoſe levities and follies and ideas of rivalſhip, which poſſeſs the youngeſt and moſt frivolous of her ſex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dreſſes of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in ſetting off the beauties of the ſhape and perſon. The queen ſaid, that ſhe had dreſſes of all countries; and ſhe took care thenceforth to meet the ambaſſador every day apparelled in a different habit: Sometimes ſhe was dreſſed in the Engliſh garb, ſometimes in the French, ſometimes in the Italian; and ſhe aſked him, which of them became her moſt? He anſwered, the Italian; a reply, that, he knew, would be agreeable to her, becauſe that mode ſhowed to advantage her flowing locks, which, he remarked, though they were more red than yellow, ſhe

[r] Keith, p. 269, 270. Appendix, p. 158. Strype, vol i. p. 414.
[s] Haynes, p. 447.

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fancied to be the fineſt in the world. She deſired to know of him what was reputed the beſt colour of hair: She aſked whether his queen or ſhe had the fineſt hair: She even enquired which of them he eſteemed the faireſt perſon: A very delicate queſtion, and which he prudently eluded, by ſaying, that her majeſty was the faireſt perſon in England, and his miſtreſs in Scotland. She next demanded which of them was talleſt: He replied, his queen: Then is ſhe too tall, ſaid Elizabeth: For I myſelf am of a juſt ſtature. Having learned from him, that his miſtreſs ſometimes recreated herſelf by playing on the harpſichord, an inſtrument on which ſhe herſelf excelled, ſhe gave orders to lord Hunſdon, that he ſhould lead the ambaſſador, as it were caſually, into an apartment, where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if raviſhed with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, ſhe pretended to be diſpleaſed with his intruſion; but ſtill took care to aſk him, whether he thought Mary or her the beſt performer on that inſtrument[t]? From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, aſſure his miſtreſs, that ſhe had no reaſon ever to expect any cordial friendſhip from Elizabeth, and that all her profeſſions of amity were full of falſehood and diſſimulation.

AFTER two years had been ſpent in evaſions and artifices[u], Mary's ſubjects and counſellors, and probably herſelf, began to think it full time that ſome marriage were concluded; and lord Darnley, ſon of the earl of Lenox, was the perſon, in whom moſt men's opinions and wiſhes centered. He was Mary's couſin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Harry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had conſtantly reſided, ſince he

[t] Melvil, p. 49, 50. [u] Keith, p. 264.

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had been baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton: And as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely perſon, tall and delicately ſhaped, it was hoped, that he might ſoon render himſelf agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was alſo by his father a branch of the ſame family with herſelf; and would, in eſpouſing her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart: He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It ſeemed no inconſiderable advantage, that ſhe could, by marrying him, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Engliſhman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped, that the propoſal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princeſs.

ELIZABETH was well informed of theſe intentions[w]; and was ſecretly not diſpleaſed with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots[x]. She would rather have wiſhed, that Mary had continued for ever in a ſingle life: But finding little probability of rendering this ſcheme effectual, ſhe was ſatisfied with a choice, which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the neceſſity of parting with Leiceſter, her favourite. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, ſhe ſecretly deſired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverſe his attainder, and to reſtore him to his honours and fortune[y]. And when her requeſt was complied with, ſhe took care, in order to preſerve the friendſhip of the Hamiltons and her other partizans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary[z]. Hearing that the negociation for Darnley's

w Keith, p. 261.
x Ibid. p. 280. 282. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 46.
y Keith, p. 255. 259. 272.
z Melvil, p. 42.

marriage

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marriage advanced apace, ſhe gave that nobleman permiſſion, on his firſt application, to follow his father into Scotland: But no ſooner did ſhe learn, that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and perſon, and that all meaſures were fixed for eſpouſing him, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; ſent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the counteſs of Lenox and her ſecond ſon into the Tower, where they ſuffered a rigorous confinement; ſeized all Lenox's Engliſh eſtate; and, though it was impoſſible for her to aſſign one ſingle reaſon for her diſpleaſure [a], ſhe menaced, and proteſted, and complained, as if ſhe had ſuffered the moſt grievous injury in the world. 1564. 28th July.

THE politics of Elizabeth, though judicious, were uſually full of duplicity and artifice; but never more ſo than in her tranſactions with the queen of Scots, where there entered ſo many little paſſions and narrow jealouſies, that ſhe durſt not avow to the world the reaſons of her conduct, ſcarcely to her miniſters, and ſcarcely even to herſelf. But beſides a womaniſh rivalſhip and envy againſt the marriage of this princeſs, ſhe had ſome motives of intereſt for feigning a diſpleaſure on the preſent occaſion. It ſerved her as a pretence for refuſing to acknowledge Mary's title to the ſucceſſion of England; a point to which, for good reaſons, ſhe was determined never to conſent. And it was uſeful to her for a purpoſe, ſtill more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the diſcontents and rebellion of the Scottiſh nobility and eccleſiaſtics [b].

NOTHING can be more unhappy for a people than to be governed by a ſovereign, attached to a religion different from the eſtabliſhed; and it is ſcarcely poſſible that mutual confidence can ever, in ſuch a ſituation,

[a] Keith, p. 274, 275. [b] Ibid. p. 290.

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have place between the prince and his ſubjects. Mary's conduct had been hitherto, in every reſpect, unexceptionable, and even laudable; yet had ſhe not made ſuch progreſs in acquiring popularity, as might have been expected from her gracious deportment and agreeable accompliſhments. Suſpicions every moment prevailed on account of her attachment to the catholic faith, and eſpecially to her uncles, the open and avowed promoters of the ſcheme for exterminating the profeſſors of the reformed religion throughout all Europe. She ſtill refuſed to ratify the acts of parliament which had eſtabliſhed the reformation; ſhe made attempts for reſtoring to the catholic biſhops ſome part of their civil juriſdiction [c]; and ſhe wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, beſides profeſſing her attachment to the catholic faith, ſhe took notice of her title to ſucceed to the crown of England, and expreſſed her hopes of being able, in ſome period, to bring back all her dominions to the boſom of the church [d]. The zealots among the proteſtants were not wanting, in their turn, to exerciſe their inſolence againſt her, which tended ſtill more to alienate her from their faith. A law was enacted, making it capital, on the very firſt offence, to ſay maſs any where, except in the queen's chapel [e]; and it was with difficulty that even this ſmall indulgence was granted her: The general aſſembly importuned her anew to change her religion; to renounce the blaſphemous idolatry of the maſs, with the tyranny of the Roman Antichriſt; and to embrace the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus [f]. As ſhe anſwered with temper, that ſhe was not yet convinced of the falſity of her religion or the impiety of the maſs; and that her apoſtacy would loſe her the friendſhip of her allies on the continent; they replied,

[c] Spotſwood, p. 198. [d] Father Paul, lib. vii. [e] Keith, p. 268. [f] Ibid. p. 545. Knox, p. 374

by

by aſſuring her, that their religion was undoubtedly the ſame which had been revealed by Jeſus Chriſt, which had been preached by the apoſtles, and which had been embraced by the faithful in the primitive ages; that neither the religion of Turks, Jews, nor Papiſts was built on ſo ſolid a foundation as theirs; that they alone, of all the various ſpecies of religioniſts, ſpread over the face of the earth, were ſo happy as to be poſſeſſed of the truth; that thoſe who hear, or rather who gaze on the maſs, allow ſacrilege, pronounce blaſphemy, and commit moſt abominable idolatry; and that the friendſhip of the King of kings was preferable to all the alliances in the world [g]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1565.

THE marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afreſh the zeal of the reformers, becauſe the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of King Henry, went often to the eſtabliſhed church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the eccleſiaſtics. They rather laid hold of the opportunity to inſult him to his face; and Knox ſcrupled not to tell him from the pulpit, that God, for puniſhment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women [h]. The populace of Edinburgh, inſtigated by ſuch doctrines, began to meet and to aſſociate themſelves againſt the government [i]. But what threatened more immediate danger to Mary's authority, were the diſcontents which prevailed among ſome of the principal nobility. The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley.

THE duke of Chatelrault was diſpleaſed with the reſloration, and ſtill more with the aggrandizement of the family of Lenox, his hereditary enemies; and entertained fears leſt his own eventual ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland ſhould be excluded by his rival, who had for-

[g] Keith, p. 550, 551. [h] Ibid. p. 546. Knox, p. 381.
[i] Knox, p. 377.

merly

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1565. merly advanced ſome pretenſions to it. The earl of Murray found his credit at court much diminiſhed by the intereſt of Lenox and his ſon; and began to apprehend the revocation of ſome conſiderable grants, which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were inſtigated by like motives; and as theſe were the perſons who had moſt zealouſly promoted the reformation, they were diſguſted to find that the queen's favour was entirely ingroſſed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwel, Athole, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were eſteemed either lukewarm in religious controverſy, or inclined to the catholic party. The ſame ground of diſcontent, which, in other courts, is the ſource of intrigue, faction, and oppoſition, commonly produced in Scotland, either projects of aſſaſſination, or of rebellion; and beſides mutual accuſations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up [k], the malcontent lords, as ſoon as they ſaw the queen's marriage entirely reſolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms againſt their ſovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the ſecurity of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance and protection [l]. That princeſs, after publiſhing the expreſſions of her diſpleaſure againſt the marriage, had ſecretly ordered her ambaſſadors Randolf and Throgmorton, to give in her name ſome promiſes of ſupport to the malcontents; and had even ſent them a ſupply of ten thouſand pounds, to enable them to begin an inſurrection [m].

MARY was no ſooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than ſhe ſum-

k See note [G] at the end of the volume. l Keith, p. 293, 294. 300, 301. m Knox, p. 380. Keith, Append. p. 164. Anderſon, vol. iii. p. 194.

moned

moned them to appear in court, in order to anſwer for their conduct; and having levied ſome forces to execute the laws, ſhe obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take ſhelter in Argyleſhire. That ſhe might more effectually cut off their reſources, ſhe proceeded with the king to Glaſgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paiſley in the neighbourhood with about a thouſand horſe; and paſſing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without reſiſtance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the ſeditious preachers; and they beat their drums, deſiring all men to enliſt, and to receive wages for the defence of God's glory [n]. But the nation was in no diſpoſition for rebellion: Mary was eſteemed and beloved: Her marriage was not generally diſagreeable to the people: And the intereſted views of the malcontent lords were ſo well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace [o]. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: The rebels were obliged to retire into the ſouth; and being purſued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thouſand men [p], they found themſelves under a neceſſity of abandoning their country, and of taking ſhelter in England.

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ELIZABETH, when ſhe found the event ſo much to diſappoint her expectations, thought proper to diſavow all connexions with the Scottiſh malcontents, and to declare every where, that ſhe had never given them any encouragement, nor any promiſe of countenance or aſſiſtance. She even carried farther her diſſimulation and hypocriſy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelrault; and ſhe ſeduced them, by ſecret aſſurances of protection, to declare, before the

[n] Knox, p. 381. [o] Ibid. p. 380, 385. [p] Ibid. p. 388.

ambaſſadors

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1565. ambaſſadors of France and Spain, that ſhe had nowiſe contributed to their inſurrection. No ſooner had ſhe extorted this confeſſion from them, than ſhe chaſed them from her preſence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their deteſtable rebellion was of bad example to all princes; and aſſured them, that as ſhe had hitherto given them no encouragement, ſo ſhould they never thenceforth receive from her any aſſiſtance or protection [q]. Throgmorton alone, whoſe honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterprize of the Scottiſh rebels; and being well appriſed of the uſual character and conduct of Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authorize the engagements which he had been obliged to take with them [r].

THE baniſhed lords, finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated by Elizabeth, had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; and after ſome ſolicitation and ſome profeſſions of ſincere repentance, the duke of Chatelrault obtained his pardon, on condition that he ſhould retire into France. Mary was more implacable againſt the ungrateful earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom ſhe threw the chief blame of the enterprize; but as ſhe was continually plied with applications from their friends, and as ſome of her moſt judicious partizans in England thought, that nothing would more promote her intereſts in that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men ſo celebrated for their zeal againſt the catholic religion; ſhe agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to ſeverity, and ſhe ſeemed determined to reſtore them to favour [s]. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambaſſador from France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lor-

[q] Melvil, p. 57. Knox, p. 388. Keith, p. 319. Crawford, p. 62, 63.
[r] Melvil, p. 60. [s] Ibid. p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Keith, p. 322.

raine,

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taine, to whoſe opinion ſhe always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon theſe proteſtant leaders, who had been engaged in a rebellion againſt her[t].

THE two religions, in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the hugonots, as had been foreſeen by Coligni, was intended only to lull them aſleep, and prepare the way for their final and abſolute deſtruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to viſit the provinces, and correct all the abuſes ariſing from the late civil war; and after having held ſome conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, ſhe came to Bayonne, where ſhe was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congreſs of theſe two ſplendid courts, but gaiety, feſtivity, love, and joy; but amidſt theſe ſmiling appearances were ſecretly fabricated ſchemes the moſt bloody, and the moſt deſtructive to the repoſe of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No leſs than a total and univerſal extermination of the proteſtants by fire and ſword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and ſanguinary diſpoſition, adviſed the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate maſſacre of all the leaders of the hugonots[u]. But that princeſs, though equally hardened againſt every humane ſentiment, would not forego this opportunity of diſplaying her wit and refined politics; and ſhe purpoſed, rather by treachery and diſſimulation, which ſhe called addreſs, to lead the proteſtants into the ſnare, and never to draw the ſword till they were totally diſabled from reſiſtance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whoſe character bore a greater affinity to

[t] Keith, p. 325. Melvil, p. 63. [u] Davila, lib. iii.

that

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that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous aſſociation againſt the reformers; and having connected his hopes of ſucceſs with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care, that her meaſures ſhould correſpond to thoſe violent counſels, which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In conſequence of this ſcheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which ſhe intended to have followed; and made her

1566. reſolve on the total ruin of the baniſhed lords[w]. A parliament was ſummoned at Edinburgh for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but ſentence would be pronounced againſt them. It was by a ſudden and violent incident, which, in the iſſue, brought on the ruin of Mary herſelf, that they were ſaved from the rigour of the law.

THE marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was ſo natural, and ſo inviting in all its circumſtances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princeſs and her council; and while ſhe was allured by his youth, and beauty, and exterior accompliſhments, ſhe had at firſt overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowiſe correſponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his reſolutions; inſolent, yet credulous and eaſily governed by flatterers; he was deſtitute of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, he was equally incapable of all true ſentiments of love and tenderneſs[x]. The queen of Scots, in the firſt effuſions of her fondneſs, had taken a pleaſure in exalting him beyond meaſure: She had granted him the title of king; ſhe had joined his name with her own in all public acts; ſhe intended to have procured him

[w] Melvil, p. 63. Keith's Append. p. 176. [x] Keith, p. 287. 329. Append. p. 163,

from

from the parliament a matrimonial crown: But having leiſure afterwards to remark his weakneſs and vices, ſhe began to ſee the danger of her profuſe liberality, and was reſolved thenceforth to proceed with more reſerve in the truſt which ſhe ſhould confer upon him. His reſentment againſt this prudent conduct ſerved but the more to increaſe her diſguſt; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance againſt every one whom he deemed the cauſe of this change in her meaſures and behaviour. 1566.

Murder of Rizzio.

THERE was in the court, one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmonteſe, of mean birth, ſon of a teacher of muſic, himſelf a muſician; and finding it difficult to ſubſiſt by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambaſſador, whom the duke of Savoy ſent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, ſome time after her firſt arrival. He poſſeſſed a good ear, and a tolerable voice; and as that princeſs found him uſeful to complete her band of muſic, ſhe retained him in her ſervice after the departure of his maſter. Her ſecretary for French diſpatches having, ſome time after, incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her perſon, and inſinuating himſelf into her favour. He was ſhrewd and ſenſible, as well as aſpiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made ſo good uſe of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded as the chief confident, and even miniſter of the queen. He was conſulted on all occaſions; no favours could be obtained but by his interceſſion; all ſuitors were obliged to gain him by preſents and flattery; and the man, inſolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquiſitions, ſoon drew on himſelf the hatred of the nobility

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litiy and of the whole kingdom [y]. He had at firſt employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendſhip ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between them: But on the ſubſequent change of the queen's ſentiments, it was eaſy for Henry's friends to perſuade him, that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouze in his mind jealouſies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a diſagreeable figure, but was not paſt his youth [z]; and though the opinion of his criminal correſpondence with Mary might ſeem of itſelf unreaſonable, if not abſurd, a ſuſpicious huſband could find no other means of accounting for that laviſh and imprudent kindneſs, with which ſhe honoured him. The rigid auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to ſpread this opinion among the people; and as Rizzio was univerſally believed to be a penſionary of the pope's, and to be deeply engaged in all ſchemes againſt the proteſtants, any ſtory, to his and Mary's diſadvantage, received an eaſy credit among the zealots of that communion.

Rizzio, who had connected his intereſts with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the baniſhed lords; and by promoting the violent proſecution againſt them, he had expoſed himſelf to the animoſity of their numerous friends and retainers. A ſcheme was alſo thought to be formed for revoking ſome exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobility who had ſeized the eccleſiaſtical benefices, began to think themſelves leſs ſecure in the poſſeſſion of them [a]. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all theſe conſiderations, and ſtill more by a rumour ſpread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place,

[y] Keith, p. 282. 302. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 5. Spotſwood, p. 193.
[z] See note [H] at the end of the volume.
[a] Keith, p. 326. Melvil, p. 64.

and

and to beſtow that dignity on a mean and upſtart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country [b]. So indiſcreet had this princeſs been in her kindneſs to Rizzio, that even that ſtrange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton, inſinuating himſelf into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the diſcontent and jealouſy of that prince; and he perſuaded him, that the only means of freeing himſelf from the indignities under which he laboured, was to bring the baſe ſtranger to the fate which he had ſo well merited, and which was ſo paſſionately deſired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the counteſs of Lenox, concurred in the ſame advice; and the lords Ruthven and Lindeſey, being conſulted, offered their aſſiſtance in the enterpriſe; nor was even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, averſe to the deſign [c]. But as theſe conſpirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to ſign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, as tending to the glory of God and advancement of religion, and promiſed to protect them againſt every conſequence which might enſue upon the aſſaſſination of Rizzio [d]. All theſe meaſures being concerted, a meſſenger was diſpatched to the baniſhed lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

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THIS deſign, ſo atrocious in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more ſo by the circumſtances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſupping in private, and had at table the counteſs of Argyle, her natural ſiſter, with Rizzio, and others of her ſervants. The king entered the room by a private

9th March.

[b] Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 60. Crawford, p. 6. Spotſwood, p. 194. Knox, p. 393. Jebb, vol. i. p. 456.

[c] Crawford, p. 7.

[d] Goodall, vol. i. p. 266. Crawford, p. 7.

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paſſage, and ſtood at the back of Mary's chair: Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators, being all armed, ruſhed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They told her, that they intended no violence againſt her perſon; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deſerved puniſhment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his miſtreſs, and ſeizing her by the waiſt, called aloud to her for protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient aſſaſſins, regardleſs of her efforts, ruſhed upon their prey, and by overturning every thing which ſtood in their way, encreaſed the horror and confuſion of the ſcene. Douglas, ſeizing Henry's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds [c]. The unhappy princeſs, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and ſaid, She would weep no more, ſhe would now think of revenge. The inſult, indeed, upon her perſon; the ſtain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the danger to which her life was expoſed, on account of her pregnancy; were injuries ſo atrocious, and ſo complicated, that they ſcarcely left room for pardon, even from the greateſt lenity and mercy.

The aſſaſſins, apprehenſive of Mary's reſentment, detained her priſoner in the palace; and the king diſmiſſed all who ſeemed willing to attempt her reſcue, by telling them, that nothing was done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's ſafety. Murray and the baniſhed lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whoſe anger was now engroſſed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and

[c] Melvil, p. 64. Keith, p. 330, 331. Crawford, p. 9.

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ſhe even received her brother with tenderneſs and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were re-inſtated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices alſo in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but ſhe artfully delayed compliance, and perſuaded them, that ſo long as ſhe was detained in cuſtody, and was ſurrounded by guards, any deed, which ſhe ſhould ſign, would have no validity. Meanwhile, ſhe had gained the confidence of her huſband, by her perſuaſion and careſſes; and no ſooner were the guards withdrawn, than ſhe engaged him to eſcape with her in the night-time, and take ſhelter in Dunbar. Many of her ſubjects here offered her their ſervices; and Mary, having collected an army, which the conſpirators had no power to reſiſt, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. They made applications however to the earl of Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, deſirous of ſtrengthening his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, was able to pacify her reſentment; and he ſoon after procured them liberty to return into their own country [f].

THE vengeance of the queen of Scots was implacable againſt her huſband alone, whoſe perſon was before diſagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him her higheſt reſentment. She engaged him to diſown all connections with the aſſaſſins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publiſh a proclamation containing a falſehood ſo notorious to the whole world [g]; and having thus made him expoſe himſelf to univerſal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, ſhe threw him off with diſdain and

[f] Melvil, p. 75, 76. Keith, p. 134. Knox, p. 398.
[g] Goodall, vol. i. p. 280. Keith Append. p. 167.

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1566. indignation [h]. As if ſhe had been making an eſcape from him, ſhe ſuddenly withdrew to Alloa, a ſeat of the earl of Marre's; and when Henry followed her thither, ſhe ſuddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the ſtrongeſt proofs of diſpleaſure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and ſhe was pleaſed, that his mean equipage and ſmall train of attendants ſhould draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the caſtle of Edinburgh,

19th June. which Mary had choſen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a ſon; and as this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, ſhe immediately diſpatched Sir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princeſs, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was diſplaying all that ſpirit and alacrity, which uſually attended her on theſe occaſions: But when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped: She ſunk into melancholy; ſhe reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambaſſador, ſhe reſumed her former diſſimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haſte he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expreſſed the utmoſt cordiality and friendſhip to her ſiſter [i]. Some time after, ſhe diſpatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinſman George Cary, ſon of Lord Hunſdon, in order to officiate at the baptiſm of the young prince; and ſhe ſent by them ſome magnificent preſents to the queen of Scots.

[h] Melvil, p. 66, 67.

[i] Ibid. p. 69, 70.

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THE birth of a ſon gave additional zeal to Mary's partizans in England [k]; and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Theſe humours broke out with great vehemence in a new ſeſſion of parliament, held after ſix prorogations. The houſe of peers, which had hitherto forborne to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the houſe of commons ſoon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower houſe, and propoſed that the queſtion of the ſucceſſion and that of ſupply ſhould go hand in hand; as if it were intended to conſtrain the queen to a compliance with the requeſt of her parliament [l]. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: Sir Ralph Sadler told the houſe, that he had heard the queen poſitively affirm, that, for the good of her people, ſhe was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and Sir Francis Knollys gave their teſtimony to the ſame purpoſe; as did alſo Sir Ambroſe Cave, chancellor of the dutchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the houſehold [m]. Elizabeth's ambitious and maſculine character were ſo well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was conſidered merely as an artifice, by which ſhe endeavoured to retract that poſitive declaration, which ſhe had made in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe meant to live and die a virgin. The miniſters, therefore, gained nothing farther by this piece of policy, than only to engage the houſe, for the ſake of decency, to join the queſtion of the queen's marriage with that of a ſettlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earneſtneſs in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when expreſs orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed farther in the matter. Cecil

30th Sept. A parliament.

[k] Camden, p. 397.
[l] D'Ewes, p. 129.
[m] Ibid. p. 124.

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told them, that ſhe pledged to the houſe the word of a queen for her ſincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a ſucceſſor would be attended with great danger to her perſon; that ſhe herſelf had had experience, during the reign of her ſiſter, how much court was uſually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous ſacrifices men were commonly diſpoſed to make of their preſent duty to their future proſpects; and that ſhe was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the deciſion of that important queſtion [n]. The houſe was not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and ſtill leſs with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the ſubject. Paul Wentworth, a ſpirited member, went ſo far as to queſtion whether ſuch a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the houſe [o]. Some even ventured to violate that profound reſpect, which had hitherto been preſerved to the queen; and they affirmed that ſhe was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happineſs of her ſubjects during her own life, but alſo to pay regard to their future ſecurity, by fixing a ſucceſſor; that, by an oppoſite conduct, ſhe ſhowed herſelf the ſtepmother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would ſeem deſirous, that England ſhould no longer ſubſiſt than ſhe ſhould enjoy the glory and ſatisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever ſtood in fear of their ſucceſſors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every ſovereign, who, laying aſide all artifice or bye-ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his ſole truſt in that honourable and ſure defence [p]. The queen, hearing of theſe debates, ſent for the ſpeaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, ſhe bade him inform the houſe, that if

[n] D'Ewes, p. 127, 128.

[o] Ibid. p. 128.

[p] Camden, p. 400.

any

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any member remained ſtill unſatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reaſons[q]. As the members ſhowed a diſpoſition, notwithſtanding theſe peremptory orders, ſtill to proceed upon the queſtion, Elizabeth thought proper, by a meſſage, to revoke them, and to allow the houſe liberty of debate[r]. They were ſo mollified by this gracious condeſcenſion, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmneſs and temper; and they even voted her a ſupply, to be levied at three payments, of a ſubſidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen ſoon after diſ- 2d January 1567. ſolved the parliament, and told them, with ſome ſharpneſs in the concluſion, that their proceedings had contained much diſſimulation and artifice; that, under the plauſible pretences of marriage and ſucceſſion, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that, however, ſhe reaped this advantage from the attempts of theſe men, that ſhe could now diſtinguiſh her friends from her enemies. "But do you think," added ſhe, "that "I am unmindful of your future ſecurity, or will be "negligent in ſettling the ſucceſſion? That is the chief "object of my concern; as I know myſelf to be liable "to mortality. Or do you apprehend, that I meant to "encroach on your liberties? No: it was never my "meaning; I only intended to ſtop you before you ap- "proached the precipice. All things have their time; "and though you may be bleſſed with a ſovereign more "wiſe or more learned than I, yet I aſſure you, that no "one will ever rule over you, who ſhall be more careful "of your ſafety. And therefore, henceforward, whether "I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no, or whoever holds "the reins of government, let me warn you to beware "of provoking your ſovereign's patience, ſo far as you "have done mine. But I ſhall now conclude, that,

[q] D'Ewes, p. 128. [r] Ibid. p. 130.

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" notwithſtanding the diſguſts I have received (for I " mean not to part with you in anger), the greater part " of you may aſſure themſelves that they go home in " their prince's good graces [s]."

ELIZABETH carried farther her dignity on this occaſion. She had received the ſubſidy without any condition; but as it was believed, that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requeſts, ſhe thought proper, on her refuſal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and ſhe ſaid, that money in her ſubjects' purſes was as good to her as in her own exchequer [t].

BUT though the queen was able to elude, for the preſent, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and beſides the catholics, many of whom kept a treaſonable correſpondence with her, and were ready to riſe at her command [u], the court itſelf of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partizans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leiceſter, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and moſt of the conſiderable men in England, except Cecil, ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the ſucceſſor. None but the more zealous proteſtants adhered either to the counteſs of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor, counteſs of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former ſeemed liable to ſome objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that ſide, with the proſpect of new diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion. Mary's behaviour alſo, ſo moderate towards the proteſtants, and ſo gracious towards all men, had procured her univerſal reſpect [w]; and the public was willing to aſcribe any imprudences, into which ſhe had fallen, to her youth and inexperience,

[s] D'Ewes, p. 116, 117.
[t] Camden, p. 400.
[u] Haynes, p. 446. 448.
[w] Melvil, p. 53. 61. 74.

But

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But all theſe flattering proſpects were blaſted by the ſubſequent incidents; where her egregious indiſcretions, ſhall I ſay, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her proſperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin.

Murder of Darnley.

THE earl of Bothwel was of a conſiderable family and power in Scotland; and though not diſtinguiſhed by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which oppoſed the greatneſs of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts, and even reduced himſelf to beggary, by his profuſe expences [x]; and ſeemed to have no reſource but in deſperate counſels and enterpriſes. He had been accuſed more than once of an attempt to aſſaſſinate Murray; and though the frequency of theſe accuſations on all ſides diminiſh ſomewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove ſufficiently the prevalence of that deteſtable practice in Scotland, and may in that view ſerve to render ſuch rumours the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her meaſures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were ſpread of more particular intimacies between them; and theſe reports gained ground from the continuance or rather encreaſe of her hatred towards her huſband [y]. That young prince was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once reſolved to fly ſecretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a veſſel for that purpoſe [z]. Some of the moſt conſiderable nobility, on the other hand, obſerving her rooted averſion to him, had propoſed ſome expedients for

[x] Keith, p. 240. [y] Melvil, p. 66. 77. Keith, p. 345—348.

a divorce;

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a divorce; and though Mary is ſaid to have ſpoken honourably on the occaſion, and to have embraced the propoſal no farther than it ſhould be found conſiſtent with her own honour and her ſon's legitimacy [a], men were inclined to believe, that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpoſe, was the real cauſe of laying aſide all farther thoughts of it. So far were the ſuſpicions againſt her carried, that when Henry, diſcouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glaſgow, an illneſs of an extraordinary nature, with which he was ſeized immediately on his arrival in that place, was univerſally aſcribed by her enemies to a doſe of poiſon, which, it was pretended, ſhe had adminiſtered to him.

While affairs were in this ſituation, all thoſe who wiſhed well to her character or to public tranquillity, were extremely pleaſed, and ſomewhat ſurprized, to hear, that a friendſhip was again conciliated between them, that ſhe had taken a journey to Glaſgow on purpoſe to viſit him during his ſickneſs, that ſhe behaved towards him with great tenderneſs, that ſhe had brought him along with her, and that ſhe appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more ſuitable to the connections between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not diſtruſting this ſudden reconciliation, put himſelf implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-houſe; but as the ſituation of the place was low, and the concourſe of people about the court was neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate of health, theſe reaſons were aſſigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe, at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him; and ſhe

[a] Camden, p. 404. Goodall's Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 317.

lay

lay ſome nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, ſhe told him, that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when it was diſcovered that the noiſe came from the king's houſe, which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence appeared upon it [b]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1567. Feb. 10.

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture ſoon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of the crime [c]. But as his favour with Mary was viſible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his ſentiments; and all men remained in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. Voices, however, were heard in the ſtreets, during the darkneſs of the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herſelf, to be murderers of the king; bills were ſecretly affixed on the walls to the ſame purpoſe; offers were made, that, upon giving proper ſecurities, his guilt ſhould be openly proved. But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would diſcover the author of that villany, greater vigilance was employed in ſearching out the ſpreaders of the libels and reports againſt Bothwel and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's aſſaſſination, or detecting the regicides [d].

[b] It was imagined, that Henry had been ſtrangled before the houſe was blown up. But this ſuppoſition is contradicted by the confeſſion of the criminals; and there is no neceſſity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body. There are many inſtances that men's lives have been ſaved who had been blown up in ſhips. Had Henry fallen on water he had not probably been killed.

[c] Melvil, p. 78. Cabbala, p. 136. [d] Anderſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 38. vol. iv. p. 167, 168. Spotſwood, p. 200. Keith, p. 374.

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1567. THE earl of Lenox, who lived at a diſtance from court, in poverty and contempt, was rouzed by the report of his ſon's murder, and wrote to the queen, imploring ſpeedy juſtice againſt the aſſaſſins; among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, Sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's houſehold; all of them perſons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh[e]. Mary took his demand of ſpeedy juſtice in a very literal ſenſe; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, ſhe ſent a citation to Lenox, requiring him to appear in court, and prove his charge againſt Bothwel[f]. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other perſons, accuſed by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty[g]; Bothwel himſelf was continually ſurrounded with armed men[h]; took his place in council[i]; lived during ſome time in the houſe with Mary[k]; and ſeemed to poſſeſs all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the caſtle of Edinburgh, a place of great conſequence in this critical time, was entruſted to him, and under him, to his creature, Sir James Balfour, who had himſelf been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder[l]. Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all theſe circumſtances; and reflecting on the ſmall train which attended him, he began to entertain very juſt apprehenſions from the power, inſolence, and temerity of his enemy. He wrote to Mary, deſiring that the day of trial might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all the regard which ſhe bore to her own honour, to employ more leiſure and deliberation in determining a queſtion of ſuch extreme

[e] Keith, p. 372. Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 3. [f] Keith, p. 373. [g] Ibid. p. 374, 375. [h] Ibid. p. 405. [i] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 38. 40. 50. 52. [k] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 274. [l] Spotſwood, p. 201.

moment [m]. No regard was paid to his application: The jury was encloſed, of which the earl of Caithneſs was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreſeeing this precipitation, had ordered Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and proteſt in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict [n]. The verdict was ſuch as it behoved them to give, where neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared; and Bothwel was abſolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehenſive that their verdict would give great ſcandal, and perhaps expoſe them afterwards to ſome danger, entered a proteſt, in which they repreſented the neceſſity of their proceedings [o]. It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid againſt Bothwel for committing the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was aſſaſſinated [p]. The interpretation generally put upon this error, too groſs, it was thought, to have proceeded from miſtake, was, that the ſecret council, by whom Mary was governed, not truſting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they enſured, at all adventures, a plauſible pretence for acquitting Bothwel.

12th April.

Two days after this extraordinary tranſaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favour of Bothwel was attended with ſuch circumſtances as ſtrongly confirmed, rather than diminiſhed, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the perſon choſen to carry the royal ſceptre on the firſt meeting of that national aſſembly [q]. In this parliament, a rigorous act was made againſt thoſe

[m] Keith, p. 375. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 52. Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 106. Spotſwood, p. 201.

[n] Keith, p. 376.

[o] Spotſwood, p. 201. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 113. vol. ii. p. 93. Spotſwood, p. 201.

[p] Keith, p. 375. Anderſon,

[q] Keith, p. 78. Crawford, p. 14.

who

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who ſet up defamatory bills; but no notice was taken of the king's murder[r]. The favour, which Mary openly
1567. bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another tranſaction, which enſued immediately upon the diſſolution of the parliament. A bond or aſſociation was framed; in which the ſubſcribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning a farther offer, which he had made, to prove his innocence by ſingle combat, oblige themſelves, in caſe any perſon ſhould afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power againſt ſuch calumniators. After this promiſe, which implied no great aſſurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the ſubſcribers mentioned the neceſſity of their queen's marriage, in order to ſupport the government; and they recommended Bothwel to her as
24th April. a huſband[s]. This paper was ſubſcribed by all the conſiderable nobility there preſent. In a country, divided by violent factions, ſuch a concurrence in favour of one nobleman, nowiſe diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, except by his flagitious conduct, could never have been obtained, had not every one been certain, at leaſt firmly perſuaded, that Mary was fully determined on this meaſure[t]. Nor would ſuch a motive have ſufficed to influence men, commonly ſo ſtubborn and intractable, had they not been taken by ſurpriſe, been ignorant of each other's ſentiments, and overawed by the preſent power of the court, and by the apprehenſions of farther violence, from perſons ſo little governed by any principles of honour and humanity. Even with all theſe circumſtances, the ſubſcription to this paper may juſtly be regarded as a reproach to the nation.

[r] Keith, p. 380. [s] Ibid. p. 384.
[t] See note [I] at the end of the volume.

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THE ſubſequent meaſures of Bothwel were equally precipitate and audacious. Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a viſit to her ſon, he aſſembled a body of eight hundred horſe, on pretence of purſuing ſome robbers on the borders, and having waylaid her on her return, he ſeized her perſon near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed deſign of forcing her to yield to his purpoſe. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and ſays not, that he ſaw any ſigns of reluctance or conſtraint: He was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with her [u]. A woman, indeed, of that ſpirit and reſolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not uſually, on theſe occaſions, give ſuch marks of oppoſition to *real* violence, as can appear anywiſe doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, ſent her a private meſſage; in which they told her, that if, in reality, ſhe lay under force, they would uſe all their efforts to reſcue her. Her anſwer was, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever ſince her arrival had been ſo well treated, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwel [w]. No one gave himſelf thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation and connivance.

1567. 24th April.

THIS unuſual conduct was at firſt aſcribed to Mary's ſenſe of the infamy attending her purpoſed marriage; and her deſire of finding ſome colour to gloſs over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon, given to Bothwel a few days after, made the public carry their conjectures ſomewhat farther. In this deed, Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's perſon; and for *all other crimes*: A clauſe, by which the murder

[u] Melvil, p. 80. [w] Spotſwood, p. 202.

of

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of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared ſcandalous to make openly any mention [x].

THESE events paſſed with ſuch rapidity, that men had no leiſure to admire ſufficiently one incident, when they were ſurprized with a new one, equally rare and uncommon. There ſtill, however, remained one difficulty, which it was not eaſy to foreſee, how the queen and Bothwel, determined as they were to execute their ſhameful purpoſe, could find expedients to overcome. The man who had procured the ſubſcription of the nobility, recommending him as a huſband to the queen, and who had acted this ſeeming violence on her perſon, in order to force her conſent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, ſiſter to the earl of Huntley. But perſons blinded by paſſion, and infatuated with crimes, ſoon ſhake off all appearance of decency. A ſuit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this ſuit was opened at the ſame inſtant in two different, or rather oppoſite courts; in the court of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, which was popiſh, and governed itſelf by the canon law; and in the new conſiſtorial or commiſſariot court, which was proteſtant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was ſo calculated as to ſuit the principles which there prevailed: In the archbiſhop's court, the pretence of conſanguinity was employed, becauſe Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commiſſariot court, the accuſation of adultery was made uſe of againſt him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel

[x] Anderſon, vol. iv. part ii. p. 61.

was

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was the perſon who ſued in the former; his wife in the latter. And the ſuit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided with the utmoſt precipitation; and a ſentence of divorce was pronounced in four days [y].

THE divorce being thus obtained, it was thought proper, that Mary ſhould be conducted to Edinburgh, and ſhould there appear before the courts of judicature, and ſhould acknowledge herſelf reſtored to entire freedom. This was underſtood to be contrived in a view of obviating all doubts with regard to the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publiſh in the church the banns between the queen and the duke of Orkney; for that was the title which he now bore; and Craig, a miniſter of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpoſe. This clergyman, not content with having refuſed compliance, publicly in his ſermons condemned the marriage; and exhorted all who had acceſs to the queen, to give her their advice againſt ſo ſcandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to anſwer for this liberty, he ſhowed a courage, which might cover all the nobles with ſhame, on account of their tameneſs and ſervility. He ſaid, that, by the rules of the church, the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by colluſion, as appeared by the precipitation of the ſentence, and the ſudden concluſion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the ſuſpicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was preſent, no longer to perſevere in his preſent criminal enterprizes; and turning his diſcourſe to the other counſellors, he charged them to employ all their

[y] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 280.

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But though this transaction might have recalled Bothwel and the queen of Scots from their infatuation, and might have instructed them in the dispositions of the people, as well as in their own inability to oppose them; they were still resolute to rush forward to their own ma-

[z] Spotswood, p. 203. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 280.

nifest

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1567. 15th May. Queen of Scots marries Bothwel.

miſeſt deſtruction. The marriage was ſolemnized by the biſhop of Orkney, a proteſtant, who was afterwards depoſed by the church for this ſcandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: They had, moſt of them, either from ſhame or fear, retired to their own houſes. The French ambaſſador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the houſe of Guiſe, to countenance the marriage by his preſence [a]. Elizabeth remonſtrated, by friendly letters and meſſages, againſt the marriage [b]: The court of France made like oppoſition; but Mary, though on all other occaſions ſhe was extremely obſequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

THE news of theſe tranſactions, being carried to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in them, but alſo on the whole nation, who ſeemed, by their ſubmiſſion and ſilence, and even by their declared approbation, to give their ſanction to theſe ſcandalous practices [c]. The Scots, who reſided abroad, met with ſuch reproaches, that they durſt no where appear in public; and they earneſtly exhorted their countrymen at home, to free them from the public odium, by bringing to condign puniſhment the authors of ſuch atrocious crimes. This intelligence, with a little more leiſure for reflection, rouſed men from their lethargy; and the rumours which, from the very beginning [d], had been ſpread againſt Mary, as if ſhe had concurred in the king's murder, ſeemed now, by the ſubſequent tranſactions, to have received a ſtrong confirmation and authority. It was every where ſaid, that even

[a] Spotſwood, p. 203. Melvil, p. 82. Digges, p. 14. [b] Keith, p. 392. [c] Melvil, p. 82. Keith, p. 402. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 128. 134. [d] Crawford, p. 11. Keith, Pref. p. 9.

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though no particular and direct proofs had as yet been produced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenor of her late conduct was ſufficient, not only to beget ſuſpicion, but to produce entire conviction againſt her: That her ſudden reſolution of being reconciled to her huſband, whom before ſhe had long and juſtly hated; her bringing him to court, from which ſhe had baniſhed him by neglects and rigours; her fitting up ſeparate apartments for him; were all of them circumſtances which, though trivial in themſelves, yet, being compared with the ſubſequent events, bore a very unfavourable aſpect for her: That the leaſt which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her ſituation, was a more than uſual caution in her meaſures, and an extreme anxiety to puniſh the real aſſaſſins, in order to free herſelf from all reproach and ſuſpicion: That no woman, who had any regard to her character, would allow a man, publicly accuſed of her huſband's murder, ſo much as to approach her preſence, far leſs give him a ſhare in her counſels, and endow him with favour and authority: That an acquittal, merely in the abſence of accuſers, was very ill-fitted to ſatisfy the public; eſpecially if that abſence proceeded from a deſigned precipitation of the ſentence, and from the terror which her known friendſhip for the criminal had infuſed into every one: That the very mention of her marriage to ſuch a perſon, in ſuch circumſtances, was horrible; and the contrivances of extorting a conſent from the nobility, and of concerting a rape, were groſs artifices, more proper to diſcover her guilt than prove her innocence: That where a woman thus ſhews a conſciouſneſs of merited reproach, and, inſtead of correcting, provides only thin gloſſes to cover, her exceptionable conduct, ſhe betrays a neglect of fame, which muſt either be the effect or the cauſe of the moſt ſhameful enormities: That to eſpouſe a man, who had, a few days before, been ſo ſcandalouſly divorced from his

his wife; who, to ſay the leaſt, was believed to have, a few months before, aſſaſſinated her huſband, was ſo contrary to the plaineſt rules of behaviour, that no pretence of indiſcretion or imprudence could account for ſuch a conduct: That a woman, who, ſo ſoon after her huſband's death, though not attended with any extraordinary circumſtances, contracts a marriage, which might, in itſelf, be the moſt blameleſs, cannot eſcape ſevere cenſure; but one who overlooks, for her pleaſure, ſo many other weighty conſiderations, was equally capable, in gratifying her appetites, to neglect every regard to honour and to humanity: That Mary was not ignorant of the prevailing opinion of the public, with regard to her own guilt, and of the inferences which would every where be drawn from her conduct; and therefore, if ſhe ſtill continued to purſue meaſures which gave ſuch juſt offence, ſhe ratified, by her actions, as much as ſhe could by the moſt formal confeſſion, all the ſurmiſes and imputations of her enemies: That a prince was here murdered in the face of the world; Bothwel alone was ſuſpected and accuſed; if he were innocent, nothing could abſolve him, either in Mary's eyes or thoſe of the public, but the detection and conviction of the real aſſaſſin; yet no enquiry was made to that purpoſe, though a parliament had been aſſembled; the ſovereign and wife was here plainly ſilent from guilt, the people from terror: That the only circumſtance which oppoſed all theſe preſumptions, or rather proofs, was the benignity and goodneſs of her preceding behaviour, which ſeemed to remove her from all ſuſpicions of ſuch atrocious inhumanity; but that the characters of men were extremely variable, and perſons, guilty of the worſt actions, were not always naturally of the worſt and moſt criminal diſpoſitions: That a woman who, in a critical and dangerous moment, had ſacrificed her honour to a man of abandoned principles, might

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thenceforth be led blindfold by him to the commiſſion of the moſt enormous crimes, and was in reality no longer at her own diſpoſal: And that, though one ſuppoſition was ſtill left to alleviate her blame, namely, that Bothwel, preſuming on her affection towards him, had of himſelf committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her, yet ſuch a ſudden and paſſionate love to a man, whom ſhe had long known, could not eaſily be accounted for, without ſuppoſing ſome degree of preceding guilt; and as it appeared, that ſhe was not afterwards reſtrained, either by ſhame or prudence, from incurring the higheſt reproach and danger, it was not likely that a ſenſe of duty or humanity would have a more powerful influence over her.

THESE were the ſentiments which prevailed throughout Scotland; and as the proteſtant teachers, who had great authority, had long borne an animoſity to Mary, the opinion of her guilt was, by that means, the more widely diffuſed, and made the deeper impreſſion on the people. Some attempts made by Bothwel, and, as is pretended, with her conſent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the moſt ſerious attention; and the principal nobility, even many of thoſe who had formerly been conſtrained to ſign the application in favour of Bothwel's marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and puniſhing the king's murderers [c]. The earl of Athole himſelf, a known catholic, was the firſt author of this confederacy: The earls of Argyle, Morton, Marre, Glencarne, the lords Boyd, Lindeſey, Hume, Semple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tulibardine, and ſecretary Lidington, entered zealouſly into it. The earl of Murray, foreſeeing ſuch turbulent times, and being deſirous to keep free of theſe dangerous

[c] Keith, p. 394.

factions,

factions, had, ſome time before, deſired and obtained Mary's permiſſion to retire into France. CHAP. XXXIX.

1567. Inſurrections in Scotland.

LORD Hume was firſt in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horſe, ſuddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwel, in the caſtle of Borthwic. They found means of making their eſcape to Dunbar; while the confederate lords were aſſembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking meaſures to effect their purpoſe. Had Bothwel been ſo prudent as to keep within the fortreſs of Dunbar, his enemies muſt have diſperſed for want of pay and ſubſiſtence; but hearing that the aſſociated lords were fallen into diſtreſs, he was ſo raſh as to take the field, and advance towards them. The armies met at Carberry Hill, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; and Mary ſoon became ſenſible that her own troops diſapproved of her cauſe, and were averſe to ſpill their blood in the quarrel[f]. After ſome bravadoes of Bothwel, where he diſcovered very little courage, ſhe ſaw no reſource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herſelf, upon ſome general promiſes, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidſt the inſults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes, and even held before her eyes, which way ſoever ſhe turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her huſband, and the diſtreſs of her infant ſon[g]. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourſe to tears and lamentations. Meanwhile, Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled unattended to Dunbar; and fitting out a few ſmall ſhips, ſet ſail for the Orkneys, where he ſubſiſted during ſome time by piracy. He was purſued thither by Grange, and his ſhip was taken, with ſeveral of his ſervants, who afterwards diſcovered all the circumſtances of the king's murder, and were puniſhed 15th June.

[f] Keith, p. 402. Spotſwood, p. 207. [g] Melvil, p. 83, 84.

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for the crime [h]. Bothwel himſelf eſcaped in a boat, and found means to get a paſſage to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years after: An end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

Impriſonment of Mary.

THE queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with ſuch treatment as a ſovereign may naturally expect from ſubjects, who have their future ſecurity to provide for, as well as their preſent animoſity to gratify. It is pretended, that ſhe behaved with a ſpirit very little ſuitable to her condition, avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel [i], and even wrote him a letter, which the lords intercepted, where ſhe declared, that ſhe would endure any extremity, nay reſign her dignity and crown itſelf, rather than relinquiſh his affections [k]. The malcontents, finding the danger to which they were expoſed, in caſe Mary ſhould finally prevail, thought themſelves obliged to proceed with rigour againſt her; and they ſent her next day under a guard to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſituated in a lake of that name. The miſtreſs of the houſe was mother to the earl of Murray; and as ſhe pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, ſhe naturally bore an animoſity to Mary, and treated her with the utmoſt harſhneſs and ſeverity.

ELIZABETH, who was fully informed of all thoſe incidents, ſeemed touched with compaſſion towards the unfortunate queen; and all her fears and jealouſies being now laid aſleep, by the conſideration of that ruin and infamy, in which Mary's conduct had involved her, ſhe began to reflect on the inſtability of human affairs, the precarious ſtate of royal grandeur, the danger of encou-

[h] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 165, 166, &c.

[i] Keith, p. 419.

[k] Melvil, p. 84. The reality of this letter appears ſomewhat diſputable; chiefly becauſe Murray and his aſſociates never mentioned it in their accuſation of her before queen Elizabeth's commiſſioners.

raging

raging rebellious ſubjects; and ſhe reſolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinſwoman. She ſent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambaſſador to Scotland, in order to remonſtrate both with Mary and the aſſociated lords; and ſhe gave him inſtructions, which, though mixed with ſome lofty pretenſions, were full of that good ſenſe which was ſo natural to her, and of that generoſity which the preſent intereſting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princeſs, ſo enormous, and in every reſpect ſo unjuſtifiable, had given her the higheſt offence; and though ſhe felt the movements of pity towards her, ſhe had once determined never to interpoſe in her affairs, either by advice or aſſiſtance, but to abandon her entirely, as a perſon whoſe condition was totally deſperate, and honour irretrievable: That ſhe was well aſſured, that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the ſame reſolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender ſympathy, and had made her adopt meaſures more favourable to the liberty and intereſts of the unhappy queen: That ſhe was determined not to ſee her oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in ſuch a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the ſafety of her ſubjects: That ſhe conjured her to lay aſide all thoughts of revenge, except againſt the murderers of her huſband; and as ſhe herſelf was his near relation, ſhe was better entitled than the ſubjects of Mary to interpoſe her authority on that head, and ſhe therefore beſought that princeſs, if ſhe had any regard to her own honour and ſafety, not to oppoſe ſo juſt and reaſonable a demand: That after thoſe two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the puniſhment

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niſhment of her huſband's aſſaſſins, the ſafety of her infant ſon was next to be conſidered; and there ſeemed no expedient more proper for that purpoſe, than ſending him to be educated in England: And that, beſides the ſecurity, which would attend his removal from a ſcene of faction and convulſions, there were many other beneficial conſequences, which it was eaſy to foreſee as the reſult of his education in that country [1].

THE remonſtrances, which Throgmorton was inſtructed to make to the aſſociated lords, were entirely conformable to theſe ſentiments, which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, that, whatever blame ſhe might throw on Mary's conduct, any oppoſition to their ſovereign was totally unjuſtifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: That it belonged not to them to reform, much leſs to puniſh, the mal-adminiſtration of their prince; and the only arms which ſubjects could in any caſe lawfully employ againſt the ſupreme authority, were entreaties, counſels, and repreſentations: That if theſe expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whoſe hands are the hearts of princes, ſhould be pleaſed to turn them to juſtice and to mercy: That ſhe inculcated not this doctrine, becauſe ſhe herſelf was intereſted in its obſervance; but becauſe it was univerſally received in all well-governed ſtates, and was eſſential to the preſervation of civil ſociety: That ſhe required them to reſtore their queen to liberty; and promiſed, in that caſe, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for puniſhing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: And that if the ſervices, which ſhe had lately rendered the Scottiſh nation, in protecting them from

[1] Keith, p. 411, 412, &c.

foreign

foreign uſurpation, were duly conſidered by them, they would repoſe confidence in her good offices, and would eſteem themſelves blame-worthy, in having hitherto made no application to her [m]. 1567.

ELIZABETH, beſides theſe remonſtrances, ſent, by Throgmorton, ſome articles of accommodation, which he was to propoſe to both parties, as expedients for the ſettlement of public affairs; and though theſe articles contained ſome important reſtraints on the ſovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage, and were ſufficiently indulgent to her [n]. The aſſociated lords, who determined to proceed with greater ſeverity, were apprehenſive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being ſenſible, that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princeſs [o], they thought proper, after ſeveral affected delays, to refuſe the Engliſh ambaſſador all acceſs to her. There were four different ſchemes propoſed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen: One, that ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her authority under very ſtrict limitations: The ſecond, that ſhe ſhould be obliged to reſign her crown to the prince, be baniſhed the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with aſſurances from the ſovereign, in whoſe dominions ſhe ſhould reſide, that ſhe ſhould make no attempts to the diſturbance of the eſtabliſhed government: The third, that ſhe ſhould be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment: The fourth was ſtill more ſevere, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon her [p]. Throgmorton ſupported the mildeſt propoſal; but though he promiſed his miſtreſs's guarantee for the performance

[m] Keith, p. 414, 415. 429. [n] Ibid. p. 416. [o] Ibid. p. 427.
[p] Ibid. p. 420.

of

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of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in caſe of refuſal [q], and warned them not to draw on themſelves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen; he found that, excepting ſecretary Lidington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counſels ſeemed to tend towards the more ſevere expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Teſtament, which can only be warranted by particular revelations, inflamed the minds of the people againſt their unhappy ſovereign [r].

THERE were ſeveral pretenders to the regency of the young prince, after the intended depoſition of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince: The duke of Chatelrault, who was abſent in France, had pretenſions as next heir to the crown: But the greateſt number of the aſſociated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whoſe capacity they had entire truſt, and who poſſeſſed the confidence of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All meaſures being therefore concerted, three inſtruments were ſent to Mary, by the hands of lord Lindeſey and Sir Robert Melvil; by one of which ſhe was to reſign the crown in favour of her ſon, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to name a council, which ſhould adminiſter the government till his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, lying juſtly under apprehenſions for her life, and believing that no deed, which ſhe executed during her captivity, could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effuſion of tears, to ſign theſe three inſtruments; and ſhe took not the trouble of inſpecting any one of them [s]. In conſe-

[q] Keith, p. 428. [r] Ibid. p. 422. 426. [s] Melvil, p. 85. Spottiwood, p. 211. Anderſon, vol. iii. p. 19.

quence

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quence of this forced reſignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was ſoon after crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation oath; in which a promiſe to extirpate hereſy was not forgotten. Some republican pretenſions, in favour of the people's power were countenanced in this ceremony [t]; and a coin was ſoon after ſtruck, on which the famous ſaying of Trajan was inſcribed, *Pro me; ſi merear, in me:* For me; if I deſerve it, againſt me [u]. Throgmorton had orders from his miſtreſs not to aſſiſt at the coronation of the king of Scots [w]. 1567. 29th July.

THE council of regency had not long occaſion to exerciſe their authority. The earl of Murray arrived from France, and took poſſeſſion of his high office. He paid a viſit to the captive queen; and ſpoke to her in a manner which better ſuited her paſt conduct than her preſent condition. This harſh treatment quite extinguiſhed in her breaſt any remains of affection towards him [x]. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He ſummoned a parliament; and that aſſembly, after voting that ſhe was undoubtedly an accomplice in her huſband's murder, condemned her to impriſonment, ratified her demiſſion of the crown, and acknowledged her ſon for king, and Murray for regent [y]. The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himſelf ſucceſsfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed Sir James Balfour to ſurrender the caſtle of Edinburgh: He conſtrained the garriſon of Dunbar to open their gates: And he demoliſhed that fortreſs. 15th Dec.

BUT though every thing thus bore a favourable aſpect to the new government, and all men ſeemed to acquieſce

[t] Keith, p. 439, 440. [u] Ibid. p. 440. Append. p. 150.
[w] Ibid. p. 430. [x] Melvil, p. 87. Keith, p. 445. [y] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 206, & ſeq.

in

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1567. in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however neceſſary, can never be effected without great diſcontents; and it was not likely that, in a country where the government, in its moſt ſettled ſtate, poſſeſſed a very disjointed authority, a new eſtabliſhment ſhould meet with no interruption or diſturbance. Few conſiderable men of the nation ſeemed willing to ſupport Mary, ſo long as Bothwel was preſent; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the ſentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being diſappointed of the regency, bore no good-will to Murray; and the ſame ſentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: Several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the aſſociators, formed a faction apart, and oppoſed the prevailing power: And beſides their being moved by ſome remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, obſerving every thing carried to extremity againſt her, were naturally led to embrace her cauſe, and ſhelter themſelves under her authority. All who retained any propenſity to the catholic religion, were induced to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly either deteſted Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now inclined to compaſſionate her preſent ſituation, and lamented that a perſon, poſſeſſed of ſo many amiable accompliſhments, joined to ſuch high dignity, ſhould be treated with ſuch extreme ſeverity[z]. Animated by all theſe motives, many of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted meaſures for ſupporting the cauſe of that princeſs.

1568. WHILE theſe humours were in fermentation, Mary was employed in contrivances for effecting her eſcape; and

[z] Buchanan, lib. xviii. c. 53.

ſhe

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ſhe engaged, by her charms and careſſes, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to aſſiſt her in that enterprize. She even went ſo far as to give him hopes of eſpouſing her, after her marriage with Bothwel ſhould be diſſolved on the plea of force; and ſhe propoſed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, perſevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of acceſs to the houſe, he was at laſt ſucceſsful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in diſguiſe into a ſmall boat, and himſelf rowed her aſhore. She haſtened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately ſpread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of aſſociation for her defence was ſigned by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawford, Caſſilis, Rothes, Montroſe, Sutherland, Errol, nine biſhops, and nine barons, beſides many of the moſt conſiderable gentry[a]. And in a few days an army, to the number of ſix thouſand men, were aſſembled under her ſtandard.

2d May.

ELIZABETH was no ſooner informed of Mary's eſcape, than ſhe diſcovered her reſolution of perſevering in the ſame generous and friendly meaſures which ſhe had hitherto purſued. If ſhe had not employed force againſt the regent, during the impriſonment of that princeſs, ſhe had been chiefly withheld by the fear of puſhing him to greater extremities againſt her[b]; but ſhe had propoſed to the court of France an expedient, which, though leſs violent, would have been no leſs effectual for her ſervice: She deſired that France and England ſhould by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they ſhould do juſtice to their injured ſovereign[c]. She now diſpatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the aſſiſtance of her forces, to Mary; but as ſhe ap-

[a] Keith, p. 475. [b] Ibid. p. 463. Cabala, p. 141. [c] Keith, p. 462.

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prehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, ſhe deſired that the controverſy between the queen of Scots and her ſubjects might by that princeſs be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign ſuccours ſhould be introduced into Scotland [d].

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BUT Elizabeth had not leiſure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent made haſte to aſſemble forces; and, notwithſtanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field againſt her. A battle was fought at Langſide near Glaſgow, which was entirely deciſive in favour of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, ſtopped the bloodſhed, yet was the action followed by a total diſperſion of the queen's party. That unhappy princeſs fled ſouthwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next meaſures, which would probably prove ſo important to her future happineſs or miſery. She found it impoſſible to remain in her own kingdom: She had an averſion, in her preſent wretched condition, to return into France, where ſhe had formerly appeared with ſo much ſplendour; and ſhe was not, beſides, provided with a veſſel, which could ſafely convey her thither: The late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even aſſiſtance, from that quarter [e]; and as the preſent fears from her domeſtic enemies were the moſt urgent, ſhe overlooked all other conſiderations, and embraced the reſolution of taking ſhelter in England. She embarked on board a fiſhing-boat in Galloway, and landed the ſame day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carliſle; whence ſhe immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to London; notifying her arrival,

15th May.

Mary flies into England.

[d] Keith, p. 473. in the notes. Anderſon, vol. iv. p. 26. [e] Jebb's Collection, vol. i. p. 420.

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deſiring leave to viſit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in conſequence of former profeſſions of friendſhip made her by that princeſs.

Elizabeth now found herſelf in a ſituation, when it was become neceſſary to take ſome deciſive reſolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as ſhe had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generoſity than of policy[f]; ſhe was engaged by that prudent miniſter to weigh anew all the conſiderations, which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He repreſented, that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at preſent aſſumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the Engliſh alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of intereſt, to perſevere in their connection with Elizabeth: That though Murray and his friends might complain of ſome unkind uſage during their baniſhment in England, they would eaſily forget theſe grounds of quarrel, when they reflected, that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could ſafely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connections, excluded them entirely from the friendſhip of France, and even from that of Spain: That Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her proteſtant ſubjects, was in ſecret entirely governed by the counſels of the houſe of Guiſe; much more would ſhe implicitly comply with their views, when, by her own ill conduct, the power of that family and of the zealous catholics was become her ſole reſource and ſecurity: That her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown would render her a dangerous inſtrument in their hands; and, were ſhe once able to ſuppreſs the proteſtants in her own kingdom, ſhe would unite the Scottiſh and Engliſh catholics, with thoſe of all foreign ſtates, in a confede-

[f] Cabala, p. 140.

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racy againſt the religion and government of England: That it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the deſign of reſtoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprize, if undertaken, ſhould be effected by Engliſh forces alone, and that full ſecurities ſhould beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: That above all, it was neceſſary to guard carefully the perſon of that princeſs; leſt, finding this unexpected reſerve in the Engliſh friendſhip, ſhe ſhould ſuddenly take the reſolution of flying into France, and ſhould attempt, by foreign force, to recover poſſeſſion of her authority: That her deſperate fortunes and broken reputation fitted her for any attempt; and her reſentment, when ſhe ſhould find herſelf thus deſerted by the queen, would concur with her ambition and her bigotry, and render her an unrelenting, as well as powerful, enemy to the Engliſh government: That if ſhe were once abroad, in the hands of enterpriſing catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as eaſy as that on Scotland; and the only method, ſhe muſt imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which ſhe would deem herſelf equally intitled: That a neutrality in ſuch intereſting ſituations, though it might be pretended, could never, without the moſt extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requiſite, whether the power of England were to be employed in her favour, or againſt her: That nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generoſity; yet the ſuggeſtions of this noble principle could never, without imprudence, be conſulted in ſuch delicate circumſtances as thoſe in which the queen was at preſent placed; where her own ſafety, and the intereſts of her people, were intimately concerned in every reſolution which ſhe embraced: That though the example of ſucceſsful rebellion, eſpecially in a neighbouring country, could

could nowiſe be agreeable to any ſovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been ſo great, perhaps her crimes ſo enormous, that the inſurrection of ſubjects, after ſuch provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent againſt other princes: That it was firſt neceſſary for Elizabeth to aſcertain, in a regular and ſatisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which ſhe ought to afford her againſt her diſcontented ſubjects: That as no glory could ſurpaſs that of defending oppreſſed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of ſuch diſhonour would extend itſelf to all who countenanced or ſupported it: And that, if the crimes of the Scottiſh princeſs ſhould, on enquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every meaſure againſt her, which policy ſhould dictate, would thence be juſtified; or if ſhe ſhould be found innocent, every enterprize, which friendſhip ſhould inſpire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

AGREEABLY to theſe views, Elizabeth reſolved to proceed in a ſeemingly generous, but really cautious, manner with the queen of Scots; and ſhe immediately ſent orders to lady Scrope, ſiſter to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princeſs. Soon after, ſhe diſpatched to her lord Scrope himſelf, warden of the marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the caſtle of Carliſle; and after expreſſing the queen's ſympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her requeſt of being allowed to viſit their ſovereign, and of being admitted to her preſence, could not at preſent be complied with: Till ſhe had cleared herſelf of her huſband's murder, of which ſhe was ſo ſtrongly accuſed, Elizabeth could not without diſhonour ſhow her any

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1568. countenance, or appear indifferent to the aſſaſſination of ſo near a kinſman[g]. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the neceſſity of her ſituation extorted from her a declaration, that ſhe would willingly juſtify herſelf to her ſiſter from all imputations, and would ſubmit her cauſe to the arbitration of ſo good a friend[h]. Two days after ſhe ſent lord Herreis to London with a letter to the ſame purpoſe.

This conceſſion, which Mary could ſcarcely avoid, without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and deſired by Elizabeth: She immediately diſpatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to deſiſt from the farther proſecution of his queen's party, and ſend ſome perſons to London to juſtify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might juſtly be ſtartled at receiving a meſſage ſo violent and imperious; but as his domeſtic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the ſole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he was reſolved rather to digeſt the affront, than provoke Elizabeth by a refuſal. He alſo conſidered, that though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to ſupport the king's cauſe in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted but ſo penetrating a princeſs would in the end diſcover this intereſt, and would at leaſt afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied, that he would himſelf take a journey to England, attended by other commiſſioners; and would willingly ſubmit the determination of his cauſe to Elizabeth[i].

Lord Herreis now perceived, that his miſtreſs had advanced too far in her conceſſions: He endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of

[g] Anderſon, vol. iv. p. 54. 66. 82, 83. 86. 55. 87.

[h] Ibid. p. 10.

[i] Ibid. p. 13—16.

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her royal dignity, ſubmit to a conteſt with her rebellious ſubjects before a foreign prince; and he required either preſent aid from England, or liberty for his queen to paſs over into France. Being preſſed, however, with the former agreement before the Engliſh council, he again renewed his conſent; but in a few days he began anew to recoil; and it was with ſome difficulty that he was brought to acquieſce in the firſt determination[k]. Theſe fluctuations, which were inceſſantly renewed, ſhowed his viſible reluctance to the meaſures purſued by the court of England. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

THE queen of Scots diſcovered no leſs averſion to the trial propoſed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her perſevere in the agreement, to which ſhe had at firſt conſented. This latter princeſs ſtill ſaid to her, that ſhe deſired not, without Mary's conſent and approbation, to enter into the queſtion, and pretended only, as a friend, to hear her juſtification: That ſhe was confident there would be found no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to ſupport her cauſe, and procure her ſome reaſonable terms of accommodation: And that it was never meant, that ſhe ſhould be cited to a trial on the accuſation of her rebellious ſubjects; but, on the contrary, that they ſhould be ſummoned to appear, and to juſtify themſelves for their conduct towards her[l]. Allured by theſe plauſible profeſſions, the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herſelf by her own commiſſioners, before commiſſioners appointed by Elizabeth.

DURING theſe tranſactions, lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knolles, who reſided with Mary at Carliſle, had leiſure to ſtudy her character, and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, reſolute in

[k] Anderſon, p. 16—20. [l] Ibid. p. 11, 12, 13. 109, 110.

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1568. her purpoſe, active in her enterprizes, ſhe aſpired to nothing but victory; and was determined to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cauſe, or yield the ſuperiority to her enemies. Eloquent, inſinuating, affable; ſhe had already convinced all thoſe who approached her, of the innocence of her paſt conduct; and as ſhe declared her fixed purpoſe to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourſe to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance againſt her perſecutors, it was eaſy to foreſee the danger to which her charms, her ſpirit, her addreſs, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expoſe them[m]. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her priſoner, were determined to watch her with greater vigilance. As Carliſle, by its ſituation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her eſcape, they removed her to Bolton, a ſeat of lord Scrope's in Yorkſhire: And the iſſue of the controverſy between her and the Scottiſh nation was regarded as a ſubject more momentous to Elizabeth's ſecurity and intereſts, than it had hitherto been apprehended,

4th Octob. Conferences at York and Hampton-court.

THE commiſſioners appointed by the Engliſh court for the examination of this great cauſe, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, the lords Herreis, Levingſtone, and Boyde, with three perſons more, appeared as commiſſioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, lord Lindeſey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were appointed commiſſioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous poet

[m] Anderſon, vol. iv. p. 54. 71, 72. 74. 78. 92.

and

and hiſtorian, with ſome others, were named as their aſſiſtants. CHAP. XXXIX.

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It was a great circumſtance in Elizabeth's glory, that ſhe was thus choſen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had, during many centuries, entertained the moſt violent jealouſy and animoſity againſt England; and her felicity was equally rare, in having the fortunes and fame of ſo dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greateſt inquietude, now entirely at her diſpoſal. Some circumſtances of her late conduct had diſcovered a biaſs towards the ſide of Mary: Her prevailing intereſts led her to favour the enemies of that princeſs: The profeſſions of impartiality, which ſhe had made, were open and frequent; and ſhe had ſo far ſucceeded, that each ſide accuſed her commiſſioners of partiality towards their adverſaries[n]. She herſelf appears, by the inſtructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the deciſion; but ſhe knew that the advantages, which ſhe ſhould reap, muſt be great, whatever iſſue the cauſe might take. If Mary's crimes could be aſcertained by undoubted proof, ſhe could for ever blaſt the reputation of that princeſs, and might juſtifiably detain her for ever a priſoner in England: If the evidence fell ſhort of conviction, it was intended to reſtore her to the throne, but with ſuch ſtrict limitations, as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect abſolute miſtreſs of the kingdom[o].

Mary's commiſſioners, before they gave in their complaints againſt her enemies in Scotland, entereſt a proteſt, that their appearance in the cauſe ſhould nowiſe affect the independence of her crown, or be conſtrued as a mark of ſubordination to England: The Engliſh commiſſioners

[n] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 40. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 110.

[o] Ibid. 14, 15, &c.

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received this proteſt, but with a reſerve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princeſs was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered ſince her marriage with Bothwel: That her ſubjects had taken arms againſt her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when ſhe put herſelf into their hands, they had committed her to cloſe cuſtody in Lochlevin; had placed her ſon, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms againſt her after her deliverance from priſon; had rejected all her propoſals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the ſafety of her perſon, to take ſhelter in England[p]. The earl of Murray, in anſwer to this complaint, gave a ſummary and imperfect account of the late tranſactions: That the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, ſeized the perſon of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired ſuch influence over her as to gain her conſent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the ſcandal of this tranſaction, the diſhonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was expoſed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and oppoſe his criminal enterprizes; that after Mary, in order to ſave him, had thrown herſelf into their hands, ſhe ſtill diſcovered ſuch a violent attachment to him, that they found it neceſſary, for their own and the public ſafety, to confine her perſon, during a ſeaſon, till Bothwel and the other murderers of her huſband could be tried and puniſhed for their crimes; and that, during this confinement, ſhe had voluntarily, without compulſion or violence, merely from diſguſt at

[p] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 52. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 128. Haynes, p. 478.

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the inquietude and vexations attending power, reſigned her crown to her only ſon, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority[q]. The queen's anſwer to this apology was obvious: That ſhe did not know, and never could ſuſpect, that Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her huſband, was the murderer of the king; that ſhe ever was, and ſtill continues deſirous, that if he be guilty he may be brought to condign puniſhment; that her reſignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, as well as others of her friends, had adviſed her to ſign that paper, as the only means of ſaving herſelf from the laſt extremity, and had aſſured her that a conſent, given under theſe circumſtances, could never have any validity[r]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

So far the queen of Scots ſeemed plainly to have the advantage in the conteſt: And the Engliſh commiſſioners might have been ſurprized that Murray had made ſo weak a defence, and had ſuppreſſed all the material imputations againſt that princeſs, on which his party had ever ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted; had not ſome private conferences previouſly informed them of the ſecret. Mary's commiſſioners had boaſted that Elizabeth, from regard to her kinſwoman, and from her deſire of maintaining the rights of ſovereigns, was determined, how criminal ſoever the conduct of that princeſs might appear, to reſtore her to the throne[s]; and Murray, reflecting on ſome paſt meaſures of the Engliſh court, began to apprehend that there were but too juſt grounds for theſe expectations. He believed that Mary, if he would agree to conceal the

[q] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 64, & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 144.
[r] Anderſon, vol. iv, part 2. p. 60, & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 162.
[s] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 45. Goodall, vol. ii p. 127.

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moſt violent part of the accuſation againſt her, would ſubmit to any reaſonable terms of accommodation; but if he once proceeded ſo far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt, no compoſition could afterwards take place; and ſhould ſhe ever be reſtored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or the aſſiſtance of her other friends, he and his party muſt be expoſed to her ſevere and implacable vengeance[t]. He reſolved, therefore, not to venture raſhly on a meaſure which it would be impoſſible for him ever to recal; and he privately paid a viſit to Norfolk and the other Engliſh commiſſioners, confeſſed his ſcruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and deſired to have ſome ſecurity for Elizabeth's protection, in caſe that evidence ſhould, upon examination, appear entirely ſatisfactory. Norfolk was not ſecretly diſpleaſed with theſe ſcruples of the regent[u]. He had ever been a partizan of the queen of Scots: Secretary Lidington, who began alſo to incline to that party, and was a man of ſingular addreſs and capacity, had engaged him to embrace farther views in her favour, and even to think of eſpouſing her: And though that duke confeſſed[w], that the proofs againſt Mary ſeemed to him unqueſtionable, he encouraged Murray in his preſent reſolution, not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the Engliſh commiſſioners[x].

Norfolk, however, was obliged to tranſmit to court the queries propoſed by the regent. Theſe queries conſiſted of four particulars: Whether the Engliſh commiſſioners had authority from their ſovereign to pronounce ſentence againſt Mary, in caſe her guilt ſhould be fully proved before them? Whether they would promiſe to ex-

[t] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 47, 48. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 159.

[u] Crawford, p. 92. Melvil, p. 94, 95. Haynes, p. 574.

[w] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 77. [x] Ibid. p. 57. 77. State Trials, vol. i. p. 76.

erciſe

ercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if she were found guilty, should be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at least, be so secured in England, that she never should be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would also, in that case, promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority[y]?

Elizabeth, when these queries, with the other transactions, were laid before her, began to think that they pointed towards a conclusion more decisive and more advantageous than she had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore, to bring the matter into full light; and under pretext that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her commissioners, she ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, she immediately joined in commission with them some of the most considerable of her council; Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, admiral, and Sir William Cecil, secretary[z]. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of these secret motives, and who expected that fear or decency would still restrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accusation against her, expressed an entire satisfaction in this adjournment; and declared that the affair, being under the immediate inspection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where she most desired to rest it[a]. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton Court; and Mary's commissioners, as before, made no scruple to be present at them.

The queen, meanwhile, gave a satisfactory answer to all Murray's demands, and declared, that though she wished and hoped, from the present enquiry, to be en-

[y] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 55. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 130.

[z] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 99. [a] Ibid. p. 95. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 177. 179.

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tirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event ſhould prove contrary, and if that princeſs ſhould appear guilty of her huſband's murder, ſhe ſhould, for her own part, deem her ever after unworthy of a throne[b]. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots, and, after expreſſing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and proteſting that nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, which muſt not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in ſuch a meaſure, he proceeded to accuſe her in plain terms of participation and conſent in the aſſaſſination of the king[c]. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of his ſon, accuſed Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity[d].

When this charge was ſo unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were tranſmitted to the biſhop of Roſs, lord Herreis, and the other commiſſioners of Mary, they abſolutely refuſed to return an anſwer; and they grounded their ſilence on very extraordinary reaſons: They had orders, they ſaid, from their miſtreſs, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and could not be ſubject to any tribunal; and they required that ſhe ſhould previouſly be admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, to whom, and to whom alone, ſhe was determined to juſtify her innocence[e]. They forgot that the conferences were at firſt begun, and were ſtill continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accuſations of her enemies; that Elizabeth had ever pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own conſent and appro-

[b] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 199. & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 206. p. 123. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 208.

[c] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 115,

[d] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2.

[e] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 125, & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184. 211. 217.

bation,

bation, not as aſſuming any juriſdiction over her; that this princeſs had, from the beginning, refuſed to admit her to her preſence, till ſhe ſhould vindicate herſelf from the crimes imputed to her; that ſhe had therefore diſcovered no new ſigns of partiality by her perſeverance in that reſolution; and that though ſhe had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, ſhe had previouſly conferred the ſame honour on Mary's commiſſioners[f]; and her conduct was ſo far entirely equal to both parties[g]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

As the commiſſioners of the queen of Scots refuſed to give in any anſwer to Murray's charge, the neceſſary conſequence ſeemed to be, that there could be no farther proceedings in the conference. But though this ſilence might be interpreted as a preſumption againſt her, it did not fully anſwer the purpoſe of thoſe Engliſh miniſters, who were enemies to that princeſs. They ſtill deſired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and, in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his ſovereign: But though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commiſſioners, had ſo far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what ſhe owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinſwoman; and ſhe therefore deſired to know what they could ſay in their own juſtification[h]. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge againſt the queen of Scots; and among the reſt, ſome love-letters and ſonnets of her's to Bothwel, written all in her own

[f] Leſly's Negociations in Anderſon, vol. iii. p. 25. Haynes, p. 487.

[g] See note [K] at the end of the volume.

[h] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 147. Goodal', vol. ii. p. 233.

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hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another ſubſcribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promiſe of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman.

All theſe important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a ſilver box or caſket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her firſt huſband, Francis; and though the princeſs had enjoined him to burn the letters as ſoon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preſerve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the cuſtody of Sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh. When that fortreſs was beſieged by the aſſociated lords, Bothwel ſent a ſervant to receive the caſket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the meſſenger; but as he had at that time received ſome diſguſt from Bothwel, and was ſecretly negociating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained inconteſtible proofs of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwel, of her conſent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her[i]. Murray fortified this evidence by ſome teſtimonies of correſpondent facts[k]; and he added, ſome time after, the dying confeſſion of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a ſervant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with her being acceſſary to that criminal enterprize[l].

[i] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 115. Goodall, vol ii. p. 1.
[k] Anderſon, vol. ii. part 2. p. 165, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 243.
[l] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 192. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 76.

Mary's

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MARY's commiſſioners had uſed every expedient to ward this blow which they ſaw coming upon them, and againſt which, it appears, they were not provided with any proper defence. As ſoon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an enquiry into a negociation; and though informed by the Engliſh commiſſioners that nothing could be more diſhonourable for their miſtreſs, than to enter into a treaty with ſuch undutiful ſubjects, before ſhe had juſtified herſelf from thoſe enormous imputations which had been thrown upon her, they ſtill inſiſted that Elizabeth ſhould ſettle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland [m]. They maintained, that, till their miſtreſs had given in her anſwer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither be called for nor produced [n]: And finding that the Engliſh commiſſioners were ſtill determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. Theſe papers, at leaſt tranſlations of them, have ſince been publiſhed. The objections made to their authenticity, are, in general, of ſmall force: But were they ever ſo ſpecious, they cannot now be hearkened to; ſince Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence againſt her, by recoiling from the enquiry at the very critical moment, and refuſing to give an anſwer to the accuſation of her enemies [o].

BUT Elizabeth, though ſhe had ſeen enough for her own ſatisfaction, was determined that the moſt eminent perſons of her court ſhould alſo be acquainted with theſe tranſactions, and ſhould be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy-council to be aſſembled; and, that ſhe might render the matter more

[m] Anderſon, vol. ii. part 2. p. 135. 139. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 224.

[n] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 139. 145. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 228.

[o] See note [L] at the end of the volume.

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ſolemn and authentic, ſhe ſummoned, along with them, the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon, and Warwic. All the proceedings of the Engliſh commiſſioners were read to them: The evidences produced by Murray were peruſed: A great number of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: The refuſal of the queen of Scots' commiſſioners to make any reply, was related: And on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that, as ſhe had, from the firſt, thought it improper that Mary, after ſuch horrid crimes were imputed to her, ſhould be admitted to her preſence before ſhe had, in ſome meaſure, juſtified herſelf from the charge; ſo now, when her guilt was confirmed by ſo many evidences, and all anſwer refuſed, ſhe muſt, for her part, perſevere more ſteadily in that reſolution [p]. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots' commiſſioners, and, after obſerving that ſhe deemed it much more decent for their miſtreſs to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of juſtifying herſelf in perſon, ſhe told them, that Mary might either ſend her reply by a perſon whom ſhe truſted, or deliver it herſelf to ſome Engliſh nobleman, whom Elizabeth ſhould appoint to wait upon her: But as to her reſolution of making no reply at all, ſhe muſt regard it as the ſtrongeſt confeſſion of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who adviſed her to that method of proceeding [q]. Theſe topics ſhe enforced ſtill more ſtrongly in a letter which ſhe wrote to Mary herſelf [r].

THE queen of Scots had no other ſubterfuge from theſe preſſing remonſtrances, than ſtill to demand a perſonal interview with Elizabeth: A conceſſion which, ſhe was

[p] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 170, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 254.
[q] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 179, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 268.
[r] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 183. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 269.

ſenſible,

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ſenſible, would never be granted [s]; becauſe Elizabeth knew that this expedient could decide nothing; becauſe it brought matters to extremity, which that princeſs deſired to avoid; and becauſe it had been refuſed from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences. In order to keep herſelf better in countenance, Mary thought of another device. Though the conferences were broken off, ſhe ordered her commiſſioners to accuſe the earl of Murray and his aſſociates as the murderers of the king [t]: But this accuſation, coming ſo late, being extorted merely by a complaint of Murray's, and being unſupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy [u]. She alſo deſired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but as ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her reſolution to make no reply before the Engliſh commiſſioners, this demand was finally refuſed her [w].

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expreſſed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his abſence, and had thrown the whole government into confuſion. Elizabeth therefore diſmiſſed him; and granted him a loan of five thouſand pounds to bear the charges of his journey [x]. During the conferences at York, the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in paſſing from France; and as the queen knew that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plauſible pretenſions to the regency of the king of Scots, ſhe thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithſtanding theſe marks of favour, and ſome other aſſiſtance which ſhe ſecretly gave this latter nobleman [y],

[s] Cabala, p. 157. [t] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 280.

[u] See note [M] at the end of the volume. [w] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 253. 283. 289. 310, 311. Haynes, vol. i. p. 492. See note [N] at the end of the volume. [x] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 677. [y] MS. in the Advocates library. A. 3. 29. p. 128, 129, 130. from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 1.

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ſhe ſtill declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

ORDERS were given for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place ſurrounded with catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princeſs, diſcouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late tranſactions, would be glad to ſecure a ſafe retreat from all the tempeſts with which ſhe had been agitated; and ſhe promiſed to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to reſign her crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government; and the adminiſtration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray[z]. But that high-ſpirited princeſs refuſed all treaty upon ſuch terms, and declared that her laſt words ſhould be thoſe of a queen of Scotland. Beſides many other reaſons, ſhe ſaid, which fixed her in that reſolution, ſhe knew that if, in the preſent emergence, ſhe made ſuch conceſſions, her ſubmiſſion would be univerſally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies[a].

MARY ſtill inſiſted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth ſhould aſſiſt her in recovering her authority, or ſhould give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendſhip of other princes: And as ſhe aſſerted that ſhe had come voluntarily into England, invited by many former profeſſions of amity, ſhe thought that one or other of theſe requeſts could not, without the moſt extreme injuſtice, be refuſed her. But Elizabeth, ſenſible of the danger which attended both theſe propoſals, was ſecretly reſolved to detain her ſtill a captive; and as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generoſity appeared much leſs urgent than ſhe was willing to pretend. Neceſſity, it

[z] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 295. [a] Ibid. p. 301.

was

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was thought, would, to the prudent, juſtify her detention: Her paſt miſconduct would apologize for it to the equitable: And though it was foreſeen, that compaſſion for Mary's ſituation, joined to her intrigues and inſinuating behaviour, would, while ſhe remained in England, excite the zeal of her friends, eſpecially of the catholics; theſe inconveniencies were deemed much inferior to thoſe which attended any other expedient. Elizabeth truſted alſo to her own addreſs for eluding all thoſe difficulties: She purpoſed to avoid breaking abſolutely with the queen of Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accommodation, to negociate perpetually with her, and ſtill to throw the blame of not coming to any concluſion, either on unforeſeen accidents, or on the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of others.

We come now to mention ſome Engliſh affairs which we left behind us, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which form ſo material a part of the preſent reign. The term, fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambreſis for the reſtitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, ſent Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that miniſter, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her reſident ambaſſador, enforced her pretenſions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any concluſion ſatisfactory to the Engliſh. The chancellor, De L'Hoſpital, told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to reſtore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the ſame treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: That it was agreed, if the Engliſh ſhould, during the interval, commit hoſtilities upon France, they ſhould inſtantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pre-

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tences that meaſure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: That though theſe places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, theſe governors were rebels; and a correſpondence with ſuch traitors was the moſt flagrant injury that could be committed on any ſovereign: That in the treaty which enſued upon the expulſion of the Engliſh from Normandy, the French miniſters had abſolutely refuſed to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: And that though a general clauſe had been inſerted, implying a reſervation of all claims; this conceſſion could not avail the Engliſh, who at that time poſſeſſed no juſt claim to Calais, and had previouſly forfeited all right to that fortreſs [b]. The queen was nowiſe ſurprized at hearing theſe allegations; and as ſhe knew that the French court intended not from the firſt to make reſtitution, much leſs after they could juſtify their refuſal by ſuch plauſible reaſons, ſhe thought it better for the preſent to acquieſce in the loſs, than to purſue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expenſive, as well as unſeaſonable [c].

Elizabeth entered anew into negociations for eſpouſing the archduke Charles; and ſhe ſeems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: But as ſhe was very rigorous in the terms inſiſted on, and would not agree that the archduke, if he eſpouſed her, ſhould enjoy any power or title in England, and even refuſed him the exerciſe of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince, deſpairing of ſucceſs in his addreſſes, married the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria [d].

[b] Haynes, p. 587. [c] Camden, p. 406. [d] Ibid. p. 407, 408.

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Character of the puritans——Duke of Norfolk's conſpiracy——Inſurrection in the north——Aſſaſſination of the earl of Murray——A parliament——Civil wars of France——Affairs of the Low Countries——New conſpiracy of the duke of Norfolk——Trial of Norfolk——His execution——Scotch affairs——French affairs——Maſſacre of Paris——French affairs——Civil wars of the Low Countries——A parliament.

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Character of the puritans.

OF all the European churches which ſhook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with ſo much reaſon and moderation as the church of England; an advantage which had been derived partly from the interpoſition of the civil magiſtrate in this innovation, partly from the gradual and ſlow ſteps by which the reformation was conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animoſity againſt the catholic religion was as little indulged as could be ſuppoſed in ſuch a revolution: The fabric of the ſecular hierarchy was maintained entire: The ancient liturgy was preſerved, ſo far as was thought conſiſtent with the new principles: Many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding uſe, were retained: The ſplendor of the Romiſh worſhip, though removed, had at leaſt given place to order and decency: The diſtinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued: No innovation was admitted, merely from ſpite and oppoſition to former uſage:

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And the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient ſuperſtition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and intereſts of ſociety, had preſerved itſelf in that happy medium which wiſe men have always ſought, and which the people have ſo ſeldom been able to maintain.

But though ſuch, in general, was the ſpirit of the reformation in that country, many of the Engliſh reformers, being men of more warm complexions, and more obſtinate tempers, endeavoured to puſh matters to extremities againſt the church of Rome, and indulged themſelves in the moſt violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among theſe, Hooper, who afterwards ſuffered for his religion with ſuch extraordinary conſtancy, was chiefly diſtinguiſhed. This man was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the ſee of Gloceſter, and made no ſcruple of accepting the epiſcopal office; but he refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, the cymarre and rochette, which had formerly, he ſaid, been abuſed to ſuperſtition, and which were thereby rendered unbecoming a true chriſtian. Cranmer and Ridley were ſurprized at this objection, which oppoſed the received practice, and even the eſtabliſhed laws; and though young Edward, deſirous of promoting a man ſo celebrated for his eloquence, his zeal, and his morals, enjoined them to diſpenſe with this ceremony, they were ſtill determined to retain it. Hooper then embraced the reſolution, rather to refuſe the biſhopric than clothe himſelf in thoſe hated garments; but it was deemed requiſite that, for the ſake of the example, he ſhould not eſcape ſo eaſily. He was firſt confined to Cranmer's houſe, then thrown into priſon, till he ſhould conſent to be a biſhop on the terms propoſed: He was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments: Bucer and Peter Martyr, and the moſt celebrated foreign reformers, were

were consulted on this important question: And a compromise, with great difficulty, was at last made, that Hooper should not be obliged to wear commonly the obnoxious robes, but should agree to be consecrated in them, and to use them during cathedral service[e]: A condescension not a little extraordinary in a man of so inflexible a spirit as this reformer. CHAP. XL. 1568.

THE same objection which had arisen with regard to the episcopal habit, had been moved against the rayment of the inferior clergy; and the surplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular zealots[f]. In vain was it urged, that particular habits, as well as postures and ceremonies, having been constantly used by the clergy, and employed in religious service, acquire a veneration in the eyes of the people, appear sacred in their apprehensions, excite their devotion, and contract a kind of mysterious virtue, which attaches the affections of men to the national and established worship; That, in order to produce this effect, an uniformity in these particulars is requisite, and even a perseverance, as far as possible, in the former practice: And that the nation would be happy, if, by retaining these inoffensive observances, the reformers could engage the people to renounce willingly what was absurd or pernicious in the ancient superstition. These arguments which had influence with wise men, were the very reasons which engaged the violent protestants to reject the habits. They pushed matters to a total opposition with the church of Rome: Every compliance, they said, was a symbolizing with Antichrist[g]. And this spirit was carried so far by some reformers, that, in a national remonstrance made afterwards by the church of Scotland against these habits, it was asked, "What has

[e] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 152. Heylin, p. 90. [f] Strype, vol. i. p. 416. [g] Ibid. p. 416.

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"Chriſt Jeſus to do with Belial? What has darkneſs "to do with light? If ſurplices, corner caps, and tippets have been badges of idolaters in the very act of "their idolatry; why ſhould the preacher of Chriſtian "liberty, and the open rebuker of all ſuperſtition, partake with the dregs of the Romiſh beaſt? Yea, who "is there that ought not rather to be afraid of taking "in his hand, or on his forehead, the print and mark of "that odious beaſt [f]?" But this application was rejected by the Engliſh church.

THERE was only one inſtance in which the ſpirit of contradiction to the Romaniſts took place univerſally in England: The altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table. The reaſon why this innovation met with ſuch general reception, was, that the nobility and gentry got thereby a pretence for making ſpoil of the plate, veſtures, and rich ornaments which belonged to the altars [g].

THESE diſputes, which had been ſtarted during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the proteſtants, who fled from the perſecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of theſe men had received an encreaſe from the furious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their oppoſition to the utmoſt extremity againſt the practices of the church of Rome. Their communication with Calvin and the other reformers, who followed the diſcipline and worſhip of Geneva, confirmed them in this obſtinate reluctance; and though ſome of the refugees, particularly thoſe who were eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, ſtill adhered to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing ſpirit carried theſe confeſſors to ſeek a ſtill farther reformation. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth, they

[f] Keith, p. 565. Knox, p. 402. [g] Heylin, preface, p. 3. Hiſt. p. 106.

returned

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returned to their native country; and being regarded with general veneration, on account of their zeal and paſt ſufferings, they ventured to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of their projected model; nor did they want countenance from many conſiderable perſons in the queen's council. But the princeſs herſelf, ſo far from being willing to deſpoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which remained in it, was rather inclined to bring the public worſhip ſtill nearer to the Romiſh ritual [h]; and ſhe thought that the reformation had already gone too far in ſhaking off thoſe forms and obſervances, which, without diſtracting men of more refined apprehenſions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuſe, and engage the vulgar. She took care to have a law for uniformity ſtrictly enacted: She was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies which ſhe thought proper: And though ſhe was ſparing in the exerciſe of this prerogative, ſhe continued rigid in exacting an obſervance of the eſtabliſhed laws, and in puniſhing all nonconformity. The zealots, therefore, who harboured a ſecret antipathy to the epiſcopal order and to the whole liturgy, were obliged, in a great meaſure, to conceal theſe ſentiments, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined

[h] *When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had ſpoken leſs reverently in a ſermon; preached before her, of the ſign of the croſs, ſhe called aloud to him from her cloſet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digreſſion, and to return unto his text. And, on the other ſide, when one of her divines had preached a ſermon in defence of the real preſence, ſhe openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety.* Heylin, p. 124. She would have abſolutely forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interpoſed. Strype's Life of Parker, p. 107, 108, 109. She was an enemy to ſermons; and uſually ſaid, that ſhe thought two or three preachers were ſufficient for a whole county. It was probably for theſe reaſons that one Doring told her to her face from the pulpit, that ſhe was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obſtructed his diſcipline. See life of Hooker, prefixed to his works.

their

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their avowed objections to the ſurplice, the confirmation of children, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the ſacrament, and bowing at the name of Jeſus. So fruitleſs is it for ſovereigns to watch with a rigid care over orthodoxy, and to employ the ſword in religious controverſy, that the work, perpetually renewed, is perpetually to begin; and a garb, a geſture, nay a metaphyſical or grammatical diſtinction, when rendered important by the diſputes of theologians and the zeal of the magiſtrate, is ſufficient to deſtroy the unity of the church, and even the peace of ſociety. Theſe controverſies had already excited ſuch ferment among the people, that in ſome places they refuſed to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were uſed; would not ſalute the conforming clergy; and proceeded ſo far as to revile them in the ſtreets, to ſpit in their faces, and to uſe them with all manner of contumely[1]. And while the ſovereign authority checked theſe exceſſes, the flame was confined, not extinguiſhed; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burſt out in the ſucceeding reigns to the deſtruction of the church and monarchy.

All enthuſiaſts, indulging themſelves in rapturous flights, extaſies, viſions, inſpirations, have a natural averſion to epiſcopal authority, to ceremonies, rites, and forms, which they denominate ſuperſtition, or beggarly elements, and which ſeem to reſtrain the liberal effuſions of their zeal and devotion: But there was another ſet of opinions adopted by theſe innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's averſion. The ſame bold and daring ſpirit, which accompanied them in their addreſſes to the divinity, appeared in their political ſpeculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during ſome reigns, had been

[1] Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 460.

little

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little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the preſent exorbitant prerogative, had been ſtrongly adopted by this new ſect. Scarcely any ſovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in ſpeculation and practice, the authority of the crown; and the puritans (ſo theſe ſectaries were called, on account of their pretending to a ſuperior purity of worſhip and diſcipline) could not recommend themſelves worſe to her favour, than by inculcating the doctrine of reſiſting or reſtraining princes. From all theſe motives, the queen neglected no opportunity of depreſſing thoſe zealous innovators; and while they were ſecretly countenanced by ſome of her moſt favoured miniſters, Cecil, Leiceſter, Knolles, Bedford, Walſingham, ſhe never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

We have thought proper to inſert in this place an account of the riſe and the genius of the puritans; becauſe Camden marks the preſent year, as the period when they began to make themſelves conſiderable in England. We now return to our narration.

1569. Duke of Norfolk's conſpiracy.

The duke of Norfolk was the only peer, that enjoyed the higheſt title of nobility; and as there were at preſent no princes of the blood, the ſplendor of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without compariſon the firſt ſubject in England. The qualities of his mind correſponded to his high ſtation: Beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obſequious, he poſſeſſed, without giving her any jealouſy, the good graces of his ſovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt

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moſt conſiderable men of that party: But as he had been educated among the reformers, was ſincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that ſtrict decorum and regularity of life, by which the proteſtants were at that time diſtinguiſhed; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the moſt oppoſite factions. The height of his proſperity alone was the ſource of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a diſtance.

NORFOLK was at this time a widower; and being of a ſuitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared ſo natural, that it had occurred to ſeveral of his friends and thoſe of that princeſs: But the firſt perſon, who, after ſecretary Lidington, opened the ſcheme to the duke, is ſaid to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland[k]. That nobleman ſet before Norfolk both the advantage of compoſing the diſſentions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be ſo generally acceptable, and the proſpect of reaping the ſucceſſion of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's intereſt the faſter with Mary's, he propoſed, that the duke's daughter ſhould alſo eſpouſe the young king of Scotland. The previouſly obtaining of Elizabeth's conſent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumſtance eſſential to the ſucceſs of their project; and all terms being adjuſted between them, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the deſign communicated to the queen of Scots. This princeſs replied, that the vexations, which ſhe had met with in her two laſt marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a ſingle life; but ſhe was determined to ſacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: And therefore, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be legally divorced from

[k] Leſley, p. 36, 37.

Bothwel,

Bothwel, ſhe would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another huſband [l]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

IT is probable, that Murray was not ſincere in this propoſal. He had two motives to engage him to diſſimulation. He knew the danger which he muſt run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, Mary's partizans in that country; and he dreaded an inſurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom ſhe had appointed her lieutenants during her abſence. By theſe feigned appearances of friendſhip, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen [m]; and he perſuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permiſſion, and even advice, to conclude a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the regent's party [n].

THE duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed, that Elizabeth's conſent ſhould be previouſly obtained, before the completion of his marriage, had reaſon to apprehend, that he never ſhould prevail with her voluntarily to make that conceſſion. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealouſy againſt her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all propoſals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foreſaw, that this princeſs's eſpouſing a perſon of his power and character and intereſt, would give the greateſt umbrage; and as it would then become neceſſary to reinſtate her in poſſeſſion of her throne on ſome tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhing of her character, he dreaded, leſt Elizabeth, whoſe politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to ſuch indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previouſly to gain the conſent and approbation of ſeveral of the moſt conſider-

[l] Leſley, p. 40, 41. [m] State Trials, p. 76, 78. [n] Leſley, p. 41.

able

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1569. able nobility; and he was ſucceſsful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewſbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex [o]. Lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the propoſal: Even the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained ſome views of eſpouſing Mary, willingly reſigned all his pretenſions, and ſeemed to enter zealouſly into Norfolk's intereſts [p]. There were other motives, beſides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

Sir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, was the moſt vigilant, active, and prudent miniſter ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but the intereſts of his ſovereign, which he had inflexibly purſued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himſelf, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked thoſe ſallies of paſſion, and ſometimes of caprice, to which ſhe was ſubject; and if he failed of perſuading her in the firſt movement, his perſeverance, and remonſtrances, and arguments, were ſure at laſt to recommend themſelves to her ſound diſcernment. The more credit he gained with his miſtreſs, the more was he expoſed to the envy of her other counſellors; and as he had been ſuppoſed to adopt the intereſts of the houſe of Suffolk, whoſe claim ſeemed to carry with it no danger to the preſent eſtabliſhment, his enemies, in oppoſition to him, were naturally led to attach themſelves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth ſaw, without uneaſineſs, this emulation among her courtiers, which ſerved to augment her own authority: And though ſhe ſupported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and diſſipated every conſpiracy againſt him, particularly one laid about this time

[o] Leſley, p. 55. Camden, p. 419. Spotſwood, p. 230. [p] Haynes, p. 535.

for

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for having him thrown into the Tower on ſome pretence or other[q], ſhe never gave him ſuch unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to cruſh his adverſaries.

NORFOLK, ſenſible of the difficulty, which he muſt meet with in controuling Cecil's counſels, eſpecially where they concurred with the inclination, as well as intereſt of the queen, durſt not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded ſtill in the ſame courſe, of encreaſing his intereſt in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his meaſures. A letter was written to Mary by Leiceſter, and ſigned by ſeveral of the firſt rank, recommending Norfolk for her huſband, and ſtipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that ſhe ſhould give ſufficient ſurety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, ſhould be made between their realms and ſubjects; that the proteſtant religion ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law in Scotland; and that ſhe ſhould grant an amneſty to her rebels in that kingdom[r]. When Mary returned a favourable anſwer to this application, Norfolk employed himſelf with new ardour in the execution of his project; and beſides ſecuring the intereſts of many of the conſiderable gentry and nobility who reſided at court, he wrote letters to ſuch as lived at their country-ſeats, and poſſeſſed the greateſt authority in the ſeveral counties[s]. The kings of France and Spain, who intereſted themſelves extremely in Mary's cauſe, were ſecretly conſulted, and expreſſed their approbation of theſe meaſures[t]. And though Elizabeth's conſent was always ſuppoſed as a previous condition to the finiſhing of this alliance, it was

[q] Camden, p. 417. [r] Leſley, p. 50. Camden, p. 420. Haynes, p. 535. 539. [s] Leſley, p. 62. [t] Ibid. p. 63.

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apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded ſuch lengths without conſulting her, to render his party ſo ſtrong, that it ſhould no longer be in her power to refuſe it [u].

It was impoſſible, that ſo extenſive a conſpiracy could entirely eſcape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped ſeveral int imations to the duke, by which he might learn, that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns; and ſhe frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he repoſed his head [w]: But he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her firſt by Leiceſter, then by Murray [x], who, if ever he was ſincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at leaſt intended, for his own ſafety and that of his party, that Elizabeth ſhould, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and ſhould not have her conſent extorted by any confederacy of her own ſubjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more ſo, as thoſe intrigues were attended with other circumſtances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry, that ſeemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealouſly attached to the catholic religion, who had no other deſign than that of reſtoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of

[u] State Trials, vol. i p. 82. [w] Camden, p. 420. Spotſwood, p. 231.

[x] Leſley, p. 71. It appears by Haynes, p. 521. 525. that Elizabeth had heard rumours of Norfolk's dealing with Murray; and charged the latter to inform her of the whole truth, which he accordingly did. See alſo the earl of Murray's letter produced on Norfolk's trial.

Northumber-

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Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who poſſeſſed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place, to which ſhe ſhould think proper to retire[y]. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, ſons of the earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Rolſtone, and other gentlemen, whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary reſided, concurred in the ſame views; and required, that, in order to facilitate the execution of the ſcheme, a diverſion ſhould, in the mean time, be made from the ſide of Flanders[z]. Norfolk diſcouraged, and even in appearance ſuppreſſed, theſe conſpiracies; both becauſe his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpoſe by rebellion, and becauſe he foreſaw, that, if the queen of Scots came into the poſſeſſion of theſe men, they would rather chuſe for her huſband the king of Spain, or ſome foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion[a].

When men of honour and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprizes, they are commonly ſo unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their deſigns and their remorſes, their fear of puniſhment and their hope of pardon, they render themſelves an eaſy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repreſs the ſurmiſes ſpread againſt him, ſpoke contemptuouſly to Elizabeth of the Scottiſh alliance; affirmed that his eſtate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom waſted by civil wars and factions; and declared, that, when he amuſed himſelf in his own tennis-

[y] Leſley, p. 76. [z] Ibid. p. 98. [a] Ibid. p. 77.

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1569. court at Norwich amidſt his friends and vaſſals, he deemed himſelf at leaſt a petty prince, and was fully ſatisfied with his condition [b]. Finding, that he did not convince her by theſe aſſeverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the miniſters, he retired to his country-ſeat without taking leave [c]. He ſoon after repented of this meaſure, and ſet out on his return to court, with a view of uſing every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Albans by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of penſioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windſor, where the court then reſided [d]. He was ſoon after committed to the Tower, under the cuſtody of Sir Henry Nevil [e]. Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, the queen of Scots' ambaſſador, was examined and confronted with Norfolk before the council [f]. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe. Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into cuſtody. The queen of Scots herſelf was removed to Coventry; all acceſs to her was, during ſome time, more ſtrictly prohibited; and viſcount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

Inſurrections in the north.

A RUMOUR had been diffuſed in the north of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Suſſex, preſident of York, alarmed with the danger, ſent for Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, in order to examine them; but not finding any proof againſt them, he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile gained ground daily; and many appearances of its reality being diſcovered, orders were diſpatched by Elizabeth to theſe two noblemen to appear at court, and anſwer for their conduct [g]. They had already proceeded ſo far in their criminal deſigns, that they dared not to truſt themſelves in her

[b] Camden, p. 420. [c] Haynes, p. 528. [d] Ibid. p. 339. [e] Camden, p. 421. Haynes, p. 540. [f] Leſley, p. 80. [g] Haynes, p. 552.

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hands: They had prepared meaſures for a rebellion; had communicated their deſign to Mary and her miniſters [h]; had entered into a correſpondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promiſe of a reinforcement of troops, and of a ſupply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to ſend over to London Chiapino Vitelli, one of his moſt famous captains, on pretence of adjuſting ſome differences with the queen; but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The ſummons, ſent to the two earls, precipitated the riſing before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in ſuſpenſe between oppoſite dangers, when he was informed that ſome of his enemies were on the way with a commiſſion to arreſt him. He took horſe inſtantly, and haſtened to his aſſociate Weſtmoreland, whom he found ſurrounded with his friends and vaſſals, and deliberating with regard to the meaſures which he ſhould follow in the preſent emergence. They determined to begin the inſurrection without delay; and the great credit of theſe two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion, which ſtill prevailed in the neighbourhood, ſoon drew together multitudes of the common people. They publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing againſt the queen, to whom they avowed unſhaken allegiance; and that their ſole aim was to reeſtabliſh the religion of their anceſtors, to remove evil counſellors, and to reſtore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour [i]. The numbers of the malcontents amounted to four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England [k].

h Haynes, p. 595. Strype, vol. ii. Append. p. 30. MS. in the Advocates' Library, from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9. i Cabala, p. 169. Strype, vol. i. p. 547. k Stowe, p. 663.

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THE queen was not negligent in her own defence, and ſhe had beforehand, from her prudent and wiſe conduct, acquired the general good-will of her people, the beſt ſecurity of a ſovereign; inſomuch that even the catholics in moſt counties expreſſed an affection for her ſervice [l]; and the duke of Norfolk himſelf, though he had loſt her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his ſituation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Suſſex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched againſt the rebels at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and found them already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, of which they had taken poſſeſſion. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwic and lord Clinton were advancing againſt them with a greater body, they found no other reſource than to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow. The common people retired to their houſes: The leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found ſkulking in that country, and was confined by Murray in the caſtle of Lochlevin. Weſtmoreland received ſhelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partizans of Mary; and perſuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This ſudden and precipitate rebellion was followed ſoon after by another ſtill more imprudent, raiſed by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunſdon, at the head of the garriſon of Berwic, was able, without any other aſſiſtance, to quell theſe rebels. Great ſeverity was exerciſed againſt ſuch as had taken part in theſe raſh enterprizes. Sixty-ſix petty conſtables were hanged [m]; and no leſs than eight hundred perſons are ſaid, on the

[l] Cabala, p. 170. Digges, p. 4.

[m] Camden, p. 423.

whole,

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whole, to have ſuffered by the hands of the executioner[n]. But the queen was ſo well pleaſed with Norfolk's behaviour, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under ſome ſhew of confinement, in his own houſe; and only exacted a promiſe from him not to proceed any farther in his negociations with the queen of Scots[o]. 1569.

ELIZABETH now found that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill conſequences, which ſhe had foreſeen, when ſhe firſt embraced that meaſure. This latter princeſs, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good ſenſe, from that delirium, into which ſhe ſeems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwel, had behaved with ſuch modeſty, and judgment, and even dignity, that every one, who approached her, was charmed with her demeanor; and her friends were enabled, on ſome plauſible grounds, to deny the reality of all thoſe crimes which had been imputed to her[p]. Compaſſion for her ſituation, and the neceſſity of procuring her liberty, proved an incitement among all her partizans to be active in promoting her cauſe; and as her deliverance from captivity, it was thought, could no wiſe be effected but by attempts dangerous to the eſtabliſhed government, Elizabeth had reaſon to expect little tranquillity ſo long as the Scottiſh queen remained a priſoner in her hands. But as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of allowing that princeſs to enjoy her liberty, and to ſeek relief in all the catholic courts of Europe, it behoved the queen to ſupport the meaſure which ſhe had adopted, and to guard, by every prudent expedient, againſt the miſchiefs to which it was expoſed. She ſtill flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen

[n] Leſley, p. 82. [o] Ibid. p. 98. Camden, p. 429. Haynes, p. 597. [p] Leſley, p. 232. Haynes, p. 511. 548.

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1569. and her enemies in Scotland, negociated perpetually concerning the terms of her reſtoration, made conſtant profeſſions of friendſhip to her; and by theſe artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any deſperate efforts for her deliverance; and to ſatisfy the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who never intermitted their ſolicitations, ſometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the ſame deceit by the queen of Scots: Profeſſions of confidence were returned by profeſſions equally inſincere: And while an appearance of friendſhip was maintained on both ſides, the animoſity and jealouſy, which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. Theſe two princeſſes, in addreſs, capacity, activity, and ſpirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, beſides her preſent forlorn condition, was always inferior in perſonal conduct and diſcretion, as well as in power, to her illuſtrious rival.

ELIZABETH and Mary wrote at the ſame time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots deſired, that her marriage with Bothwel might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary ſhould be reſtored to her dignity on certain terms; that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon, and the adminiſtration remain in the regent's hands, till the young prince ſhould come to years of diſcretion; or that ſhe ſhould be allowed to live at liberty as a private perſon in Scotland, and have an honourable ſettlement made in her favour [q]. Murray ſummoned a convention of ſtates, in order to deliberate on theſe propoſals of the two queens: No anſwer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that ſhe had there employed the ſtyle of a ſovereign,

[q] MSS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 329. p. 137. from Cott. Lib. catal. c. 1.

addreſſing

addreſſing herſelf to her ſubjects; but in reality, becauſe they ſaw that her requeſt was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or ſome powerful prince, who could ſupport her cauſe, and reſtore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were ſo derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not ſo much as deliberate concerning them: The third alone could be the ſubject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth, in propoſing conditions ſo unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refuſal of thoſe which were moſt advantageous to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to adjuſt all the terms of the third, ſo as to render it ſecure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that ſhe was not ſincere in any of them [r]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

IT is pretended, that Murray had entered into a private negociation with the queen, to get Mary delivered into his hands [s]; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England ſo dangerous, it is probable that ſhe would have been pleaſed, on any honourable or ſafe terms, to rid herſelf of a priſoner who gave her ſo much inquietude [t]. But all theſe projects vaniſhed by the ſudden death of the regent, who was aſſaſſinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a perſon of conſiderable vigour, abilities, and conſtancy; but though he was not unſucceſsful, during his regency, in compoſing the diſſentions in Scotland, his talents ſhone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and auſtere; and he poſſeſſed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character. 1570. 23 January. Aſſaſſination of the earl of Murray.

[r] Spotſwood, p. 230, 231. Leſley, p. 71. [s] Camden, p. 425. Leſley, p. 83. [t] See note [O] at the end of the volume.

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By the death of the regent, Scotland relapſed into anarchy. Mary's party aſſembled together, and made themſelves maſters of Edinburgh. The caſtle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, ſeemed to favour her cauſe; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averſe to her, that her authority might again acquire the aſcendant. To check its progreſs, Elizabeth diſpatched Suſſex, with an army, to the North, under colour of chaſtizing the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waſte the lands of the Kers and Scots, ſeized the caſtle of Hume, and committed hoſtilities on all Mary's partizans, who, he ſaid, had offended his miſtreſs, by harbouring the Engliſh rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards ſent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houſes of the Hamiltons, who were engaged in the ſame faction. The Engliſh armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promiſed, in return, that no French troops ſhould be introduced into Scotland, and that the Engliſh rebels ſhould be delivered up to the queen by her partizans [v].

But though the queen, covering herſelf with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, ſo far contributed to ſupport the party of the young king of Scots, ſhe was cautious not to declare openly againſt Mary; and ſhe even ſent a requeſt, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princeſs, not to elect, during ſome time, a regent in the place of Murray [w]. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore choſen temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partizans, inſtead of delivering up Weſtmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promiſed, had allowed them to eſcape into Flanders; ſhe

[v] Leſley, p. 91. [w] Spotſwood, p. 240.

permitted

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permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of regent [x], and ſhe ſent Randolph, as her reſident, to maintain a correſpondence with him. But notwithſtanding this ſtep, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, ſhe never laid aſide her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princeſs. Being importuned by the biſhop of Roſs, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambaſſadors, ſhe twice procured a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Scottiſh factions, and by that means ſtopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the oppoſite party [y]. By theſe ſeeming contrarieties ſhe kept alive the factions in Scotland, encreaſed their mutual animoſity, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of devaſtation and of miſery [z]. She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and conſequently no intereſt or deſign to inſtigate the parties againſt each other; but this conſequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which ſhe was engaged, as far as poſſible, to keep on good terms with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendſhip with her, at leaſt thoſe of neutrality [a].

The better to amuſe Mary with the proſpect of an accommodation, Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay were ſent to her with propoſals from Elizabeth. The terms were ſomewhat rigorous, ſuch as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of ſincerity on the part of the Engliſh court. It was required that the queen of Scots, beſides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the lifetime of Elizabeth, ſhould make a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, between the kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould marry no Engliſhman without Elizabeth's con-

[x] Spotſwood, p. 241. [y] Ibid. p. 243. [z] Crawford, p. 136.
[a] See note [P] at the end of the volume.

ſent,

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ſent, nor any other perſon without the conſent of the ſtates of Scotland; that compenſation ſhould be made for the late ravages committed in England; that juſtice ſhould be executed on the murderers of king Henry; that the young prince ſhould be ſent into England, to be educated there; and that ſix hoſtages, all of them noblemen, ſhould be delivered to the queen of England, with the caſtle of Hume, and ſome other fortreſs, for the ſecurity of performance [b]. Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promiſed to contribute her endeavours towards the reſtoration of the depoſed queen. The neceſſity of Mary's affairs obliged her to conſent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when conſulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any aſſiſtance [c].

ELIZABETH'S commiſſioners propoſed alſo to Mary a plan of accommodation with her ſubjects in Scotland; and after ſome reaſoning on that head, it was agreed, that the queen ſhould require Lenox, the regent, to ſend commiſſioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partizans of Mary boaſted, that all terms were fully ſettled with the court of England, and that the Scottiſh rebels would ſoon be conſtrained to ſubmit to the authority of their ſovereign: But Elizabeth took care that theſe rumours ſhould meet with no credit, and that the king's party ſhould not be diſcouraged, nor ſink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all the queen of England's propoſals, ſo far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be diſcuſſed anew in the conference; and deſired him to ſend commiſſioners who ſhould be conſtant in the king's cauſe,

[b] Spotſwood, p. 245. Leſley, p. 101. [c] Leſley, p. 109, &c.

and

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and cautious not to make conceſſions which might be prejudicial to their party [d]. Suſſex alſo, in his letters, dropped hints to the ſame purpoſe; and Elizabeth herſelf ſaid to the abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lenox had ſent to the court of England, that ſhe would not inſiſt on Mary's reſtoration, provided the Scots could make the juſtice of their cauſe appear to her ſatisfaction; and that, even if their reaſons ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, ſhe would take effectual care to provide for their future ſecurity [e]. 1570.

THE parliament of Scotland appointed the earl of Morton, and Sir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dunfermling, to manage the treaty. Theſe commiſſioners preſented memorials, containing reaſons for the depoſition of their queen; and they ſeconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottiſh hiſtory, with the authority of laws, and with the ſentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas, which Elizabeth had entertained of the abſolute, indefeaſible right of ſovereigns made her be ſhocked with theſe republican topics; and ſhe told the Scottiſh commiſſioners, that ſhe was nowiſe ſatisfied with their reaſons for juſtifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions, which they required for their ſecurity [f]. They replied, that their commiſſion did not empower them to treat of any terms, which might infringe the title and ſovereignty of their young king; but they would gladly hear whatever propoſals ſhould be made them by her majeſty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not diſadvantageous to Mary; but as the commiſſioners ſtill inſiſted, that they were not authorized to treat in any manner, concerning the reſtoration of that princeſs [g], the 1571. 1ſt March.

[d] Spotſwood, p. 245. [e] Ibid. p. 247, 248. [f] Ibid. p. 248, 249. [g] Haynes, p. 623.

conferences

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conferences were neceſſarily at an end; and Elizabeth diſmiſſed the Scottiſh commiſſioners with injunctions, that they ſhould return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament [h]. The biſhop of Roſs openly complained to the Engliſh council, that they had abuſed his miſtreſs by fair promiſes and profeſſions; and Mary herſelf was no longer at a loſs to judge of Elizabeth's inſincerity. By reaſon of theſe diſappointments, matters came ſtill nearer to extremities between the two princeſſes; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more ſtrongly incited to make, at all hazards, every poſſible attempt for her liberty and ſecurity.

An incident alſo happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to encreaſe the vigilance and jealouſy of the latter princeſs. Pope Pius V. who had ſucceeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendſhip of Elizabeth, whom his predeceſſor's violence had irritated, iſſued at laſt a bull of excommunication againſt her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance [i]. It ſeems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a meaſure which was at that time in agitation [k]. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace; and ſcorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was ſeized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he ſeems to have entertained ſo violent an ambition [l].

[h] Spotſwood, p. 249, 250, &c. Leſley, p. 133. 136. Camden, p. 431, 432. [i] Camden, p. 427. [k] Ibid. p. 441. from Cajetanus's Life of Pius V. [l] Camden, p. 428.

A NEW

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A NEW parliament, after five years' interval, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope againſt her, was become ſtill more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houſes would be abſolutely uncontroulable. It was ſo in fact; yet is it remarkable, that it prevailed not without ſome ſmall oppoſition; and that too ariſing chiefly from the height of zeal for proteſtantiſm; a diſpoſition of the Engliſh, which, in general, contributed extremely to encreaſe the queen's popularity. We ſhall be ſomewhat particular in relating the tranſactions of this ſeſſion, becauſe they ſhow, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her government. It will be curious alſo to obſerve the faint dawn of the ſpirit of liberty among the Engliſh, the jealouſy with which that ſpirit was repreſſed by the ſovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in oppoſition to it, and the eaſe with which it was ſubdued by this arbitrary princeſs.

THE lord keeper, Bacon, after the ſpeaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that ſhe enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of ſtate [m]: Such was his expreſſion; by which he probably meant, the queſtions of the queen's marriage and the ſucceſſion, about which they had before given her ſome uneaſineſs: For as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negociations; no parliament in that age ever preſumed to take them under conſideration, or queſtion, in theſe particulars, the conduct of their ſovereign, or of his miniſters.

IN the former parliament, the puritans had introduced ſeven bills for a farther reformation in religion; but they

[m] D'Ewes, p. 141.

had

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had not been able to prevail in any one of them [n]. This houſe of commons had ſitten a very few days, when Stricland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy [o]. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. Another member added, the kneeling at the ſacrament; and remarked, that, if a poſture of humiliation were requiſite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communicants ſhould throw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, in order to keep at the wideſt diſtance from former ſuperſtition [p].

RELIGION was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if poſſible, ſtill more jealous than of matters of ſtate. She pretended that, in quality of ſupreme head or governor of the church, ſhe was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all queſtions, which might ariſe with regard to doctrine, diſcipline, or worſhip; and ſhe never would allow her parliaments ſo much as to take theſe points into conſideration [q]. The courtiers did not forget to inſiſt on this topic: The treaſurer of the houſehold, though he allowed, that any hereſy might be repreſſed by parliament (a conceſſion which ſeems to have been raſh and unguarded; ſince the act, inveſting the crown with the ſupremacy, or rather recognizing that prerogative, gave the ſovereign full power to reform all hereſies), yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every queſtion of ceremony in worſhip [r]. The comptroller ſeconded this argument; inſiſted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and ſaid that the houſe might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with ſuch matters. One Piſtor oppoſed theſe remonſtrances of the courtiers. He was ſcandalized, he ſaid, that affairs of

[n] D'Ewes, p. 185. [o] Ibid. p. 156, 157. [p] Ibid. p. 167.
[q] Ibid. p. 158. [r] Ibid. p. 166.

ſuch

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ſuch infinite conſequence (namely, kneeling and making the ſign of the croſs) ſhould be paſſed over ſo lightly. Theſe queſtions, he added, concern the ſalvation of ſouls, and intereſt every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cauſe he ſhewed to be the cauſe of God; the reſt were all but terrene, yea trifles in compariſon, call them ever ſo great: Subſidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had, when laid in the balance with ſubjects of ſuch unſpeakable importance [s]. Though the zeal of this member ſeems to have been approved of, the houſe, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the queſtion, that a petition ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they ſhould ſtop all debate or reaſoning concerning it [t].

MATTERS would probably have reſted here, had not the queen been ſo highly offended with Stricland's preſumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that ſhe ſummoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the houſe of commons [u]. This act of power was too violent even for the ſubmiſſive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the houſe were invaded; obſerved that Stricland was not a private man, but repreſented a multitude; and moved, that he might be ſent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might anſwer for it at the bar of the houſe, which he inſinuated to be the only competent tribunal [w]. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with ſtill greater boldneſs. He ſaid, that the precedent was dangerous: And though in this happy time of lenity, among ſo many good and honourable perſonages as were at preſent inveſted with authority, nothing of extremity or

[s] D'Ewes, p. 166. [t] Ibid. p. 167. [u] Ibid. p. 175.
[w] Ibid.

injury

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injury was to be apprehended; yet the times might alter; what now is permitted, might hereafter be conſtrued as duty; and might be enforced even on the ground of the preſent permiſſion. He added, that all matters not treaſonable, or which implied not *too much* derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every queſtion that concerned the community muſt be conſidered, and where even the right of the crown itſelf muſt finally be determined. He remarked, that men ſat not in that houſe in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper, that the prince ſhould retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: As the ſovereign could not of himſelf make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority [x].

These principles were popular, and noble, and generous; but the open aſſertion of them was, at this time, ſomewhat new in England: And the courtiers were more warranted by preſent practice, when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treaſurer warned the houſe to be cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture farther than their aſſured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majeſty in any doubtful cauſe. The member, he ſaid, whoſe attendance they required, was not reſtrained on account of any liberty of ſpeech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the houſe againſt the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with obſerving, that even ſpeeches, made in that houſe, had been queſtioned and examined by the ſovereign [y]. Cleere, another member, remarked, that the ſovereign's prerogative is not ſo much as diſputable, and that the ſafety of the queen is the ſafety of the ſubject. He added, that, in queſtions of divinity, every man was for his inſtruction to repair to his ordinary; and

[x] D'Ewes, p. 175, 176. [y] Ibid. p. 175.

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he ſeems to inſinuate, that the biſhops themſelves, for their inſtruction, muſt repair to the queen [z]. Fleetwood obſerved, that in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth of the preſent queen, had been called to account for a ſpeech in the houſe. But leſt this example ſhould be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a biſhop was committed to priſon by the king's command, on account of his freedom of ſpeech; and the parliament preſumed not to go farther than to be humble ſuitors for him: In the ſubſequent reign the ſpeaker himſelf was committed, with another member; and the houſe found no other remedy than a like ſubmiſſive application. He adviſed the houſe to have recourſe to the ſame expedient; and not to preſume either to ſend for their member, or demand him as of right [a]. During this ſpeech, thoſe members of the privy-council who ſat in the houſe whiſpered together; upon which the ſpeaker moved, that the houſe ſhould make ſtay of all farther proceedings: A motion, which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment which ſhe had made was likely to excite a great ferment, ſaved her honour by this ſilence of the houſe; and leſt the queſtion might be reſumed, ſhe ſent next day to Stricland her permiſſion to give his attendance in parliament [b].

NOTWITHSTANDING this rebuke from the throne, the zeal of the commons ſtill engaged them to continue the diſcuſſion of thoſe other bills which regarded religion; but they were interrupted by a ſtill more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the lords condeſcended to be her inſtruments. This houſe ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring that a committee might attend them. Some members were appointed for that purpoſe; and the upper houſe informed them, that the

[z] D'Ewes, p. 175. [a] Ibid. p. 176. [b] Idem ibid.

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queen's majeſty, being informed of the articles of reformation which they had canvaſſed, approved of them, intended to publiſh them, and to make the biſhops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority, as ſupreme head of the church of England: But that ſhe would not permit them to be treated of in parliament[c]. The houſe, though they did not entirely ſtop proceedings on account of this injunction, ſeem to have been nowiſe offended at ſuch haughty treatment; and in the iſſue all the bills came to nothing.

A MOTION, made by Robert Bell, a puritan, againſt an excluſive patent granted to a company of merchants in Briſtol[d], gave alſo occaſion to ſeveral remarkable incidents. The queen, ſome days after the motion was made, ſent orders by the mouth of the ſpeaker, commanding the houſe to ſpend little time in motions, and to avoid long ſpeeches. All the members underſtood, that ſhe had been offended, becauſe a matter had been moved, which ſeemed to touch her prerogative[e]. Fleetwood accordingly ſpoke of this delicate ſubject. He obſerved, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to queſtion the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely ſubjected to the pleaſure of the ſovereign; that even the ſtatute, which gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an excluſive patent, only employed the power veſted in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book to prove, that no man might ſpeak in parliament of the ſtatute of wills, unleſs the king firſt gave licence; becauſe the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He ſhewed likewiſe the ſtatutes of Edward I. Edward III.

[c] D'Ewes, p. 180. 185. [d] Ibid. p. 185. [e] Ibid. p. 159.

and

and Henry IV. with a ſaving of the prerogative. And in Edward VI.'s time, the protector was applied to, for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative[f]. CHAP. XL. 1571.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the gallant and renowned ſea-adventurer, carried theſe topics ſtill farther. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; ſince it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial, which whoever ſhould attempt ſo much as in fancy, could not, he ſaid, be otherwiſe accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between ſaying, that the queen is not to uſe the privilege of the crown, and ſaying that ſhe is not queen? And though experience has ſhewn ſo much clemency in her majeſty, as might, perhaps, make ſubjects forget their duty; it is not good to ſport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation, that all horned beaſts ſhould depart the court, immediately fled, leſt his ears ſhould be conſtrued to be horns; and by this apologue he ſeems to inſinuate, that even thoſe who heard or permitted ſuch dangerous ſpeeches, would not themſelves be entirely free from danger. He deſired them to beware, leſt, if they meddled farther with theſe matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herſelf able to ſuppreſs their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Lewis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardſhip[g].

Though this ſpeech gave ſome diſguſt, no body, at the time, replied any thing, but that Sir Humphrey miſtook the meaning of the houſe, and of the member who made the motion: They never had any other purpoſe, than to repreſent their grievances, in due and ſeemly form, unto her majeſty. But in a ſubſequent debate,

[f] D'Ewes, p. 160. [g] Ibid. p. 168.

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1571. Peter Wentworth, a man of a ſuperior free ſpirit, called that ſpeech an inſult on the houſe; noted Sir Humphrey's diſpoſition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to the cameleon, which can change itſelf into all colours, except white; and recommended to the houſe, a due care of liberty of ſpeech; and of the privileges of parliament[h]. It appears, on the whole, that the motion againſt the excluſive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who firſt introduced it, was ſent for by the council, and was ſeverely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the houſe with ſuch an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reaſon, were ſtruck with terror; and during ſome time, no one durſt riſe to ſpeak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were ſomewhat abated, the members ſpoke with extreme precaution; and by employing moſt of their diſcourſe in preambles and apologies, they ſhewed their conſcious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever ſo gently; nay ſeemed to be approached, though at ever ſo great a diſtance, the whiſper ran about the houſe, "The queen will be offended; the council will be ex-"tremely diſpleaſed:" And by theſe ſurmiſes men were warned of the danger to which they expoſed themſelves. It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with ſuch imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of ſeven or eight thouſand of her induſtrious ſubjects[i].

29th May. Thus, every thing, which paſſed the two houſes, was extremely reſpectful and ſubmiſſive; yet did the queen think it incumbent on her, at the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to check, and that with great ſeverity, thoſe feeble

[h] D'Ewes, p. 175. [i] Ibid. p. 242.

efforts

efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and ſpeeches of ſome members. The lord keeper told the commons, in her majeſty's name, that, though the majority of the lower houſe had ſhewn themſelves in their proceedings diſcreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had diſcovered a contrary character, and had juſtly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous: Contrary to their duty, both as ſubjects and parliament-men, nay contrary to the expreſs injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the ſeſſion; injunctions, which it might well become them to have better attended to; they had preſumed to call in queſtion her majeſty's grants and prerogatives. But her majeſty warns them, that, ſince they thus wilfully forget themſelves, they are otherwiſe to be admoniſhed: Some other ſpecies of correction muſt be found for them; ſince neither the commands of her majeſty, nor the example of their wiſer brethren, can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what nowiſe belongs to them, and what lies beyond the compaſs of their underſtanding[k].

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In all theſe tranſactions appears clearly the opinion which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliaments. They were not to canvaſs any matters of ſtate: Still leſs were they to meddle with the church. Queſtions of either kind were far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to thoſe councils and miniſters, with whom he was pleaſed to entruſt them. What then was the office of parliaments? They might give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preſervation of pheaſants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; for the puniſhment of vagabonds or common beggars. Regulations concerning the police of the

[k] D'Ewes, p. 151.

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1571. country came properly under their inſpection; and the laws of this kind which they preſcribed, had, if not a greater, yet a more durable authority, than thoſe which were derived ſolely from the proclamations of the ſovereign. Precedents or reports could fix a rule for deciſions in private property, or the puniſhment of crimes; but no alteration or innovation in the municipal law could proceed from any other ſource than the parliament; nor would the courts of juſtice be induced to change their eſtabliſhed practice by an order of council. But the moſt acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of ſubſidies; the attainting and puniſhing of the obnoxious nobility, or any miniſter of ſtate after his fall; the countenancing of ſuch great efforts of power, as might be deemed ſomewhat exceptionable, when they proceeded entirely from the ſovereign. The redreſs of grievances was ſometimes promiſed to the people; but ſeldom could have place, while it was an eſtabliſhed rule, that the prerogatives of the crown muſt not be abridged, or ſo much as queſtioned and examined in parliament. Even though monopolies and excluſive companies had already reached an enormous height, and were every day encreaſing, to the deſtruction of all liberty, and extinction of all induſtry; it was criminal in a member to propoſe, in the moſt dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application againſt any of them.

THESE maxims of government were not kept ſecret by Elizabeth, or ſmoothed over by any fair appearances or plauſible pretences. They were openly avowed in her ſpeeches and meſſages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtineſs, nay ſometimes bitterneſs, of expreſſion, which the meaneſt ſervant could look for from his offended maſter. Yet notwithſtanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the moſt popular ſovereign that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England; becauſe the

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the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the conſtitution. The continued encroachments of popular aſſemblies on Elizabeth's ſucceſſors have ſo changed our ideas in theſe matters, that the paſſages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at firſt ſurpriſing; but they were ſo little remarked, during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other hiſtorian, has taken any notice of them. So abſolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious ſpark of liberty had been kindled, and was preſerved, by the puritans alone; and it was to this ſect, whoſe principles appear ſo frivolous and habits ſo ridiculous, that the Engliſh owe the whole freedom of their conſtitution. Actuated by that zeal which belongs to innovators, and by the courage which enthuſiaſm inſpires, they hazarded the utmoſt indignation of their ſovereign; and employing all their induſtry to be elected into parliament; a matter not difficult, while a ſeat was rather regarded as a burthen than an advantage[1]; they firſt acquired a majority in that aſſembly, and then obtained an aſcendant over the church and monarchy.

THE following were the principal laws enacted this ſeſſion. It was declared treaſon, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign, or that any other poſſeſſed a preferable title, or that ſhe was a heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel, or that the laws and ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the ſucceſſor thereof: To maintain in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, ſubjected the perſon, and all his abettors, for the firſt of-

[1] It appeared this ſeſſion, that a bribe of four pounds had been given to a mayor for a ſeat in parliament. D'Ewes, p. 181. It is probable, that the member had no other view than the privilege of being free from arreſts.

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fence, to impriſonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: The ſecond offence ſubjected them to the penalty of a premunire[m]. This law was plainly levelled againſt the queen of Scots and her partizans; and implied an avowal, that Elizabeth never intended to declare her ſucceſſor. It may be noted, that the uſual phraſe of *lawful iſſue*, which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if ſhe could be ſuppoſed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural iſſue*. But this alteration was the ſource of pleaſantry during the time; and ſome ſuſpected a deeper deſign, as if Leiceſter intended, in caſe of the queen's demiſe, to produce ſome baſtard of his own, and affirm that he was her offspring[n].

It was alſo enacted, that whoſoever by bulls ſhould publiſh abſolutions or other reſcripts of the pope, or ſhould, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, ſuch offenders, as well as thoſe who were ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon. The penalty of a premunire was impoſed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or ſuch other implement of ſuperſtition, conſecrated by the pope[o]. The former laws againſt uſury were enforced by a new ſtatute[p]. A ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as ſhe was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in aſking them for any ſupply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues ſuffice for the neceſſities of the crown, or ſhe employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by ſome ſuch ruinous expedient.

Though Elizabeth poſſeſſed ſuch uncontrouled authority over her parliaments, and ſuch extenſive influence

[m] 13 Eliz. c. 1. [n] Camden, p. 436. [o] 13 Eliz. c. 2.
[p] Ibid. c. 8.

over

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over her people; though during a courſe of thirteen years, ſhe had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the haſty and ill-concerted inſurrection in the north; ſhe was ſtill kept in great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Scotland, ſeemed in one view to ſecure her againſt any diſturbance; but they ſerved, on more reflection, to inſtruct her in the danger of her ſituation, when ſhe remarked that England, no leſs than theſe neighbouring countries, contained the ſeeds of inteſtine diſcord; the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animoſity of the oppoſite ſectaries. 1571.

Civil wars of France.

THE league, formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the proteſtants, had not been concluded ſo ſecretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and finding that the meaſures of the court agreed with their ſuſpicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to ſtrike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though diſperſed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of ſeparate empire; and being cloſely united, as well by their religious zeal, as by the dangers to which they were perpetually expoſed, they obeyed, with entire ſubmiſſion, the orders of their leaders, and were ready on every ſignal to fly to arms. The king and queen mother were living in great ſecurity at Monceaux in Brie; when they found themſelves ſurrounded by proteſtant troops, which had ſecretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swiſs come ſpeedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they muſt have fallen, without reſiſtance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St.

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St. Dennis; where, though the old conſtable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a ſtrong reinforcement from the German proteſtants, appeared again in the field; and laying ſiege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation.

So great was the mutual animoſity of thoſe religioniſts, that even had the leaders on both ſides been ever ſo ſincere in their intentions for peace, and repoſed ever ſo much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more, where ſuch extreme jealouſy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a ſnare for their enemies. A plan was laid for ſeizing the perſon of the prince and admiral; who narrowly eſcaped to Rochelle, and ſummoned their partizans to their aſſiſtance[q]. The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became ſtill more exaſperated againſt each other. The young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought, in 1569, a great battle at Jarnac with the hugonots, where the prince of Condé was killed, and his army defeated. This diſcomfiture, with the loſs of ſo great a leader, reduced not the hugonots to deſpair. The admiral ſtill ſupported the cauſe; and, having placed at the head of the proteſtants the prince of Navarre, then ſixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, he encouraged the party rather to periſh bravely in the field, than ignominiouſly by the hands of the executioner. He collected ſuch numbers, ſo determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head againſt the duke of

[q] Davila, lib. 4.

Anjou;

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Anjou; and being ſtrengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat and to divide his forces. CHAP. XL. 1571.

COLIGNI then laid ſiege to Poitiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprize, the duke of Guiſe, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himſelf into the place, and ſo animated the garriſon by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Such was the commencement of that unrivaled fame and grandeur afterwards attained by this duke of Guiſe. The attachment which all the catholics had borne to his father, was immediately transferred to the ſon; and men pleaſed themſelves in comparing all the great and ſhining qualities which ſeemed, in a manner, hereditary in that family. Equal in affability, in munificence, in addreſs, in eloquence, and in every quality which engages the affections of men; equal alſo in valour, in conduct, in enterprize, in capacity; there ſeemed only this difference between them, that the ſon, educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater diſſolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterprizes ſtill more deſtructive to the authority of his ſovereign, and to the repoſe of his native country.

ELIZABETH, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowiſe pleaſed with this new riſe of her enemies the Guiſes; and being anxious for the fate of the proteſtants, whoſe intereſts were connected with her own[r], ſhe was engaged, notwithſtanding her averſion from all rebellion, and from all oppoſition to the will of the ſovereign, to give them ſecretly ſome aſſiſtance. Beſides employing her authority with the German princes, ſhe lent money to the queen of Navarre,

[r] Haynes, p. 471.

and

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and received ſome jewels as pledges for the loan. And ſhe permitted Henry Champernon to levy, and tranſport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to diſtinguiſh himſelf in that great ſchool of military valour[s]. The admiral, conſtrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of ſubſiſting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithſtanding their frequent experience of the obſtinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, vainly flattered themſelves that the force of the rebels was at laſt finally annihilated; and they neglected farther preparations againſt a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were ſurpriſed to hear that this leader had appeared, without diſmay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like conſtancy; had aſſembled an army; had taken the field; and was even ſtrong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminiſhed by the continued diſorders of the kingdom, and waſted by ſo many fruitleſs military enterprizes, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithſtanding his extreme animoſity againſt the hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all paſt offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conſcience.

THOUGH a pacification was ſeemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was nowiſe reconciled to his rebellious ſubjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a ſnare, by which the perfidious court had projected to deſtroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the ad-

[s] Camden, p. 423.

miral,

miral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, inſtructed by paſt experience, diſcovered an extreme diſtruſt of the king's intentions, and kept themſelves in ſecurity, at a diſtance, all poſſible artifices were employed to remove their apprehenſions, and convince them of the ſincerity of the new counſels which ſeemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiouſly obſerved to them; the toleration was ſtrictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to infringe it, were puniſhed with ſeverity; offices, and favours, and honours, were beſtowed on the principal nobility among the proteſtants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil diſorders, and convinced of the impoſſibility of forcing men's conſciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exerciſe of his religion.

AMONG the other artifices employed to lull the proteſtants into a fatal ſecurity, Charles affected to enter into cloſe connection with Elizabeth; and as it ſeemed not the intereſt of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princeſs the more eaſily flattered herſelf that the French monarch would prefer her friendſhip to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, propoſals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whoſe youth, beauty, and reputation for valour might naturally be ſuppoſed to recommend him to a woman who had appeared not altogether inſenſible to theſe endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, ſhe laid herſelf the more open to be deceived. Negociations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were propoſed; difficulties ſtarted and removed; and the two courts, equally inſincere, though not equally culpable, ſeemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and conceſſions. The great obſtacle

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obſtacle ſeemed to lie in adjuſting the difference of religion; becauſe Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her huſband; and the duke of Anjou ſeemed unwilling to ſubmit, for the ſake of intereſt, to the diſhonour of an apoſtacy[t].

THE artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed ſo much in any contrivances as in thoſe which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought that they might, without danger of forming any final concluſion, venture the farther in their conceſſions and offers to her. The queen alſo had other motives for diſſimulation. Beſides the advantage of diſcouraging Mary's partizans, by the proſpect of an alliance between France and England, her ſituation with Philip demanded her utmoſt vigilance and attention; and the violent authority eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries, made her deſirous of fortifying herſelf even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

Affairs of the Low Countries.

THE theological controverſies which had long agitated Europe, had, from the beginning, penetrated into the Low Countries; and, as theſe provinces maintained an extenſive commerce, they had early received from every kingdom, with which they correſponded, a tincture of religious innovation. An opinion at that time prevailed, which had been zealouſly propagated by prieſts, and implicitly received by ſovereigns, that hereſy was cloſely connected with rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church involved a like revolution in the civil government. The forward zeal of the reformers would ſeldom allow them to wait the conſent of the magiſtrate to their innovations: They became leſs

[t] Camden, p. 433. Davila, lib. v. Digges's Complete Ambaſſador, p. 84. 110, 111.

dutiful

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dutiful when oppoſed and puniſhed: And though their pretended ſpirit of reaſoning and enquiry was, in reality, nothing but a new ſpecies of implicit faith, the prince took the alarm; as if no inſtitutions could be ſecure from the temerity of their reſearches. The emperor Charles, who propoſed to augment his authority, under pretence of defending the catholic faith, eaſily adopted theſe political principles; and notwithſtanding the limited prerogative, which he poſſeſſed in the Netherlands, he publiſhed the moſt arbitrary, ſevere, and tyrannical edicts againſt the proteſtants; and he took care that the execution of them ſhould be no leſs violent and ſanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigoted in his natural diſpoſition; yet an hiſtorian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed, that, in the ſeveral perſecutions promoted by that monarch, no leſs than a hundred thouſand perſons periſhed by the hands of the executioner[u]. But theſe ſevere remedies, far from anſwering the purpoſes intended, had rather ſerved to augment the numbers as well as zeal of the reformers; and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns, ſeeing no end of thoſe barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel againſt their principles, and declined any farther perſecution of the new doctrines.

When Philip ſucceeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were juſtly alarmed with new apprehenſions; leſt their prince, obſerving the lenity of the magiſtrates, ſhould take the execution of the edicts from ſuch remiſs hands, and ſhould eſtabliſh the inquiſition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The ſevere and unrelenting character of the man, his profeſſed attachment to Spaniſh manners, the inflexible bigotry of his princi-

[u] Grotii Annal. lib. i. Father Paul, another great authority, computes in a paſſage above cited, that 50,000 perſons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

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ples; all theſe circumſtances encreaſed their terror: And when he departed the Netherlands, with a known intention never to return, the diſguſt of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and their dread of thoſe tyrannical orders which their ſovereign, ſurrounded with Spaniſh miniſters, would iſſue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the dutcheſs of Parma, governeſs of the Low Countries; and the plain good ſenſe and good temper of that princeſs, had ſhe been entruſted with the ſole power, would have preſerved the ſubmiſſion of thoſe opulent provinces, which were loſt from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics, on which Philip ſo highly valued himſelf. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the dutcheſs; that cardinal Granville entirely poſſeſſed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a reſolution was taken never more to aſſemble the ſtates; that new biſhoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the perſecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they muſt expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spaniſh monarchy. The diſcontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men ſhowed a ſtrong diſpoſition to revolt. Aſſociations were formed, tumultuary petitions preſented, names of diſtinction aſſumed, badges of party diſplayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal and irritated by feeble reſiſtance, roſe to ſuch a height, that in ſeveral towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invaſion on the eſtabliſhed worſhip, pillaged the churches and monaſteries, broke the images, and committed the moſt unwarrantable diſorders.

THE wiſer part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at theſe exceſſes, to which their own diſcontents

had at firſt given countenance; and ſeconding the wiſdom of the governeſs, they ſuppreſſed the dangerous inſurrections, puniſhed the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a ſtate of order and ſubmiſſion. But Philip was not contented with the re-eſtabliſhment of his ancient authority: He conſidered, that provinces ſo remote from the ſeat of government could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and that a prince, who muſt intreat rather than command, would neceſſarily, when he reſided not among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the late popular diſorders, as a pretence for entirely aboliſhing the privileges of the Low Country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority. CHAP. XL. 1571.

In the execution of this violent deſign, he employed a man, who was a proper inſtrument in the hands of ſuch a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidſt arms; and having attained a conſummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to tranſfer into all government the ſevere diſcipline of a camp, and to conceive no meaſures between prince and ſubject, but thoſe of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animoſity to the Flemings, with his known character, ſtruck that whole people with terror and conſternation. It belongs not to our ſubject to relate at length thoſe violences which Alva's natural barbarity, ſteeled by reflection, and aggravated by inſolence, exerciſed on thoſe flouriſhing provinces. It ſuffices to ſay, that all their privileges, the gift of ſo many princes, and the inheritance of ſo many ages, were openly and expreſsly aboliſhed by edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in ſpite of their

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ELIZABETH was equally diſpleaſed to ſee the progreſs of that ſcheme, laid for the extermination of the proteſtants, and to obſerve the erection of ſo great a military power, in a ſtate ſituated in ſo near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemiſh exiles who took ſhelter in her dominions; and as many of theſe were the moſt induſtrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, ſhe reaped the advantage of introducing into England ſome uſeful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. Foreſeeing that the violent government of Alva could not long ſubſiſt without exciting ſome commotion, ſhe ventured to commit an inſult upon him, which ſhe would have been cautious not to hazard againſt a more eſtabliſhed authority. Some Genoeſe merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to tranſport into Flanders the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns; and the veſſels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by ſome privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had taken ſhelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ſhips pretended, that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding, upon enquiry, that it was the property of Genoeſe merchants, took poſſeſſion of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this reſource in the time of his greateſt neceſſity. Alva, in revenge, ſeized all the Engliſh merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into priſon, and confiſcated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemiſh

Flemiſh and Spaniſh merchants; and gave all the Engliſh liberty to make repriſals on the ſubjects of Philip. CHAP. XL.

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These differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: But nothing could repair the loſs which ſo well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spaniſh government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, impoſed by his arbitrary will the moſt ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods: He alſo demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every ſale; an abſurd tyranny, which would not only have deſtroyed all arts and commerce, but even have reſtrained the common intercourſe of life. The people refuſed compliance: The duke had recourſe to his uſual expedient of the gibbet: And thus matters came ſtill nearer the laſt extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards [w].

All the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themſelves for her inſults, had naturally recourſe to one policy, the ſupporting of the cauſe and pretenſions of the queen of Scots; and Alva, whoſe meaſures were ever violent, ſoon opened a ſecret intercourſe with that princeſs. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the correſpondence of the court of Rome with the catholic nobility and gentry [x]. He had been thrown into priſon at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary had been diſcovered; but either no proof was found againſt him, or the part which he had acted was not very criminal; and he ſoon after

New conſpiracy of the duke of Norfolk.

[w] Bentivoglio, part I. lib. v. Camden, p. 416. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87.

[x] Leſley, p. 123.

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recovered his liberty. This man, zealous for the catholic faith, had formed a ſcheme, in concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for ſubverting the government, by a foreign invaſion and a domeſtic inſurrection; and when he communicated his project, by letter, to Mary, he found that, as ſhe was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and deſpaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific meaſures, ſhe willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of diſcontented catholics were the chief ſource of their hopes on the ſide of England; and they alſo obſerved, that the kingdom was, at that time, full of indigent gentry chiefly younger brothers, who having at preſent, by the late decay of the church, and the yet languiſhing ſtate of commerce, no proſpect of a livelihood ſuitable to their birth, were ready to throw themſelves into any deſperate enterprize [y]. But in order to inſpire life and courage into all theſe malcontents, it was requiſite that ſome great nobleman ſhould put himſelf at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the biſhop of Roſs, who entered into all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

THIS nobleman, when releaſed from confinement in the Tower, had given his promiſe, that he would drop all intercourſe with the queen of Scots [z]; but finding that he had loſt, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being ſtill, in ſome degree, reſtrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and deſpair, to violate his word, and to open anew his correſpondence with the captive princeſs [a]. A promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her intereſts;

[y] L-ſley, p. 123. [z] Haynes, p. 571. [a] State Trials. vol. i. p. 102.

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and as his remorſes gradually diminiſhed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he was puſhed to give his conſent to enterprizes ſtill more criminal. Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould, on ſome other pretence, aſſemble a great quantity of ſhipping in the Low Countries; ſhould tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, into England; ſhould land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; ſhould thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to ſubmit to whatever terms the conſpirators ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon her [b]. Norfolk expreſſed his aſſent to this plan; and three letters, in conſequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehenſive of the danger, refuſed to ſign them [c]. He only ſent to the Spaniſh ambaſſador a ſervant and confident, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of theſe letters; and Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambaſſador, proceeded on his journey to Bruſſels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the ſcheme with alacrity: Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions [d]: And every thing ſeemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

NORFOLK, notwithſtanding theſe criminal enterprizes, had never entirely forgotten his duty to his ſovereign, his country, and his religion; and though he had laid the plan both of an invaſion and an inſurrection, he ſtill flattered himſelf, that the innocence of his intentions would juſtify the violence of his meaſures, and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots, and the obtaining of Elizabeth's conſent to his marriage, he

[b] Leſley, p. 155. State Trials, vol. i. p. 86, 87. [c] Leſley, p. 159. 161. Camden, p. 432. [d] State Trials, vol. i. p. 93.

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could not juſtly reproach himſelf as a rebel and a traitor [e], It is certain, however, that, conſidering the queen's vigour and ſpirit, the ſcheme, if ſucceſsful, muſt finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here expoſed to the utmoſt danger.

THE conſpiracy hitherto had entirely eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of ſecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they firſt obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at laſt to a full diſcovery. Mary had intended to ſend a ſum of money to lord Herries, and her partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Banniſter, a ſervant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find ſome expedient for conveying it to lord Herries [f]. He entruſted the money to a ſervant who was not in the ſecret, and told him, that the bag contained a ſum of money in ſilver, which he was to deliver to Banniſter with a letter: But the ſervant conjecturing, from the weight and ſize of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Banniſter, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's ſecretary, to be put under arreſt, and to undergo a ſevere examination. Torture made them confeſs the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the houſe, full evidence now appeared againſt his maſter [g]. Norfolk himſelf, who was entirely ignorant of the diſcoveries made by his ſervants, was brought before the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confeſſion, he perſiſted in denying every crime with which

[e] Leſley, p. 155. [f] Ibid. p. 169. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87. Camden, p. 434. Digges, p. 134. 137. 140. Strype, vol. ii. p. 82.

[g] Leſley, p. 173.

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he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his ſincere repentance, ſhe would have pardoned all his former offences[h]; but finding him obſtinate, ſhe committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The biſhop of Roſs had, on ſome ſuſpicion, been committed to cuſtody before the diſcovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his ſhare in the conſpiracy. He at firſt inſiſted on his privilege; but he was told, that, as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambaſſador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conſpiring againſt the ſovereign at whoſe court he reſided[i]. As he ſtill refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, he was informed of the confeſſion made by Norfolk's ſervants; after which he no longer ſcrupled to make a full diſcovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all queſtion. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the ſtrict rules obſerved at preſent in theſe matters; except that the witneſſes gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the priſoner: A laudable practice, which was not at that time obſerved in trials for high treaſon.

1571.

1572. 12th Jan. Trial of Norfolk.

THE queen ſtill heſitated concerning Norfolk's execution, whether that ſhe was really moved by friendſhip and compaſſion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praiſe of clemency, ſhe only put on the appearance of theſe ſentiments. Twice ſhe ſigned a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal ſentence[k]; and though her miniſters and counſellors puſhed her

[h] Leſley, p. 175. [i] Ibid. p. 189. Spotſwood. [k] Carte, p. 527. from Fenelon's Diſpatches. Digges, p. 166. Strype, vol. ii. p. 83.

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1572. His execution. 8th May. 2d June.

to rigour, ſhe ſtill appeared irreſolute and undetermined. After four months heſitation, a parliament was aſſembled; and the commons addreſſed her, in ſtrong terms, for the execution of the duke; a ſanction which, when added to the greatneſs and certainty of his guilt, would, ſhe thought, juſtify, in the eyes of all mankind, her ſeverity againſt that nobleman. Norfolk died with calmneſs and conſtancy; and though he cleared himſelf of any diſloyal intentions againſt the queen's authority, he acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered[l]. That we may relate together affairs of a ſimilar nature, we ſhall mention, that the earl of Northumberland being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was alſo, a few months after, brought to the ſcaffold for his rebellion.

THE queen of Scots was either the occaſion or the cauſe of all theſe diſturbances; but as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and might reaſonably, from the harſh treatment which ſhe had met with, think herſelf entitled to uſe any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth durſt not, as yet, form any reſolution of proceeding to extremities againſt her. She only ſent lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilſon to expoſtulate with her, and to demand ſatisfaction for all thoſe parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given diſpleaſure to Elizabeth: Her aſſuming the arms of England, refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's conſent, concurring in the northern rebellion[m], practiſing with Rodolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invaſion of England[n], procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give

[l] Camden, p. 440. Strype, vol. ii. App. p. 23. [m] Digges, p. 16. 107. Strype, vol. ii. p. 51, 52. [n] Ibid. p. 194. 208, 209. Strype, vol. ii. p. 40. 51.

her

her the title of queen of England. Mary juſtified herſelf from the ſeveral articles of the charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others [o]. But the queen was little ſatisfied with her apology; and the parliament was ſo enraged againſt her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. They employed ſome topics derived from practice and reaſon, and the laws of nations; but the chief ſtreſs was laid on paſſages and examples from the Old Teſtament [p], which, if conſidered as a general rule of conduct (an intention which it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe), would lead to conſequences deſtructive of all principles of humanity and morality. Matters were here carried farther than Elizabeth intended; and that princeſs, ſatisfied with ſhewing Mary the diſpoſition of the nation, ſent to the houſe her expreſs commands not to deal any farther at preſent in the affair of the Scottiſh queen [q]. Nothing could be a ſtronger proof, that the puritanical intereſt prevailed in the houſe, than the intemperate uſe of authorities derived from ſcripture, eſpecially from the Old Teſtament; and the queen was ſo little a lover of that ſect, that ſhe was not likely to make any conceſſion merely in deference to their ſolicitation. She ſhewed, this ſeſſion, her diſapprobation of their ſchemes in another remarkable inſtance. The commons had paſſed two bills for regulating eccleſiaſtical ceremonies; but ſhe ſent them a like imperious meſſage with her former ones; and by the terror of her prerogative, ſhe ſtopped all farther proceeding in thoſe matters [r].

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BUT though Elizabeth would not carry matters to ſuch extremities againſt Mary, as were recommended by the parliament, ſhe was alarmed at the great intereſt and

[o] Camden, p. 442. [p] D'Ewes, p. 207, 208, &c. [q] Ibid. p. 219. 241. [r] Ibid. p. 213. 238.

the

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the reſtleſs ſpirit of that princeſs, as well as her cloſe connections with Spain; and ſhe thought it neceſſary both to encreaſe the rigour and ſtrictneſs of her confinement, and to follow maxims, different from thoſe which ſhe had hitherto purſued, in her management of Scotland[s]. That kingdom remained ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken poſſeſſion of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the regent. By a ſudden and unexpected inroad, they ſeized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding that his friends, ſallying from the caſtle, were likely to reſcue him, they inſtantly put him to death. The earl of Marre was choſen regent in his room; and found the ſame difficulties in the government of that divided country. He was therefore glad to accept of the mediation offered by the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors; and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party[t]. He was a man of a free and generous ſpirit, and ſcorned to ſubmit to any dependance on England; and for this reaſon Elizabeth, who had then formed intimate connections with France, yielded with leſs reluctance to the ſolicitations of that court, ſtill maintained the appearance of neutrality between the parties, and allowed matters to remain on a balance in Scotland[u]. But affairs ſoon after took a new turn: Marre died of melancholy, with which the diſtracted ſtate of the country affected him: Morton was choſen regent; and as this nobleman had ſecretly taken all his meaſures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendſhip of the French court, ſhe reſolved to exert herſelf more effectually for the ſupport of the party which ſhe had always

Scotch affairs.

[s] Digges, p. 152. [t] Spotſwood, p. 263. [u] Digges, p. 156. 165. 169.

favoured.

favoured. She ſent Sir Henry Killegrew ambaſſador to Scotland, who found Mary's partizans ſo diſcouraged by the diſcovery and puniſhment of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity for all paſt offences [x]. The duke of Chatelrault and the earl of Huntley, with the moſt conſiderable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on theſe conditions. The garriſon alone of the caſtle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes were deſperate; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of receiving aſſiſtance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obſtinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give diſturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; ſhe no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, ſhe found, would not any longer be amuſed by her artifices; ſhe had an implicit reliance on Morton; and ſhe ſaw, that, by the ſubmiſſion of all the conſiderable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an eaſy, as well as a moſt important undertaking.. She ordered, therefore, Sir William Drury, governor of Berwic, to march with ſome troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to beſiege the caſtle [y]. The garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion: Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed: Secretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died ſoon after a voluntary death, as is ſuppoſed; and Scotland, ſubmitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any farther inquietude to Elizabeth.

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THE events which happened in France were not ſo agreeable to the queen's intereſts and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been ſo often made with the Hugonots, gave them reaſon to ſuſpect the

French affairs.

[x] Spotſwood, p. 268. [y] Camden, p. 449.

preſent

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1572. preſent intentions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the ſagacious admiral ſtill remained doubtful and uncertain. But his ſuſpicions were at laſt overcome, partly by the profound diſſimulation of Charles, partly by his own earneſt deſire to end the miſeries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. He conſidered beſides, that as the former violent conduct of the court had ever met with ſuch fatal ſucceſs, it was not unlikely that a prince, who had newly come to years of diſcretion, and appeared not to be rivetted in any dangerous animoſities or prejudices, would be induced to govern himſelf by more moderate maxims. And as Charles was young, was of a paſſionate, haſty temper, and addicted to pleaſure [z], ſuch deep perfidy ſeemed either remote from his character, or difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to be ſo uniformly ſupported by him. Moved by theſe conſiderations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the Hugonots, began to repoſe themſelves in full ſecurity, and gave credit to the treacherous careſſes and profeſſions of the French court. Elizabeth herſelf, notwithſtanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the leaſt diſtruſt of Charles's ſincerity; and being pleaſed to find her enemies of the houſe of Guiſe removed from all authority, and to obſerve an animoſity every day growing between the French and
28th April. Spaniſh monarchs, ſhe concluded a defenſive league with the former [a], and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walſingham, her ambaſſador, ſent her over, by every courier, the moſt ſatisfactory accounts of the honour, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

THE better to blind the jealous Hugonots, and draw their leaders into the ſnare prepared for them, Charles

[z] Digges, p. 8. 39. [a] Camden, p. 443.

offered

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offered his ſiſter, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the conſiderable nobility of the party, had come to Paris, in order to aſſiſt at the celebration of theſe nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compoſe the differences, at leaſt appeaſe the bloody animoſity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poiſoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerouſly wounded by an aſſaſſin: Yet Charles, redoubling his diſſimulation, was ſtill able to retain the Hugonots in their ſecurity; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, the ſignal was given for a general maſſacre of thoſe religioniſts, and the king himſelf, in perſon, led the way to theſe aſſaſſinations. The hatred, long entertained by the Pariſians againſt the proteſtants, made them ſecond, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and perſons of every condition, age, and ſex, ſuſpected of any propenſity to that religion, were involved in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin. The admiral, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had ſignalized themſelves by the moſt heroic actions, were miſerably butchered, without reſiſtance; the ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than ſatiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had ſaved the victims from farther inſult, exerciſed on their dead bodies all the rage of the moſt licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank periſhed in this maſſacre, and near ten thouſand of inferior condition[b]. Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the proteſtants; and in Roüen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, had been propoſed by the duke of Guiſe; but

1572.

24th Aug.

Maſſacre of Paris.

[b] Davila, lib. v.

Charles,

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1572. Charles, ſoftened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that theſe young princes might eaſily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to ſpare their lives, though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by a ſeeming change of their religion.

CHARLES, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conſpiracy of the Hugonots to ſeize his perſon had been ſuddenly detected; and that he had been neceſſitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this ſeverity againſt them. He ſent orders to Fenelon, his ambaſſador in England, to aſk an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late tranſaction. That miniſter, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even ſcrupled not to declare, that he was now aſhamed to bear the name of Frenchman [c]; yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make uſe of the apology which had been preſcribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers, which, he knew, the conduct of his maſter had ſo well merited. Nothing could be more awful and affecting than the ſolemnity of his audience. A melancholy ſorrow ſat on every face: Silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment: The courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each ſide, and allowed him to paſs, without affording him one ſalute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the queen herſelf [d]. That princeſs received him with a more eaſy, if not a more gracious countenance; and heard his apology, without diſcovering any viſible ſymptoms of indignation. She then told him, that though, on the firſt rumour of this dreadful intelligence, ſhe had been aſtoniſhed that ſo many brave men and loyal ſubjects, who reſted ſecure on the faith of their ſovereign, ſhould have been ſuddenly butchered in ſo barbarous a manner; ſhe had hitherto

[c] Digges, p. 247. [d] Carte, vol. iii. p. 522. from Fenelon's Diſpatches.

ſuſpended

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1572.

ſuſpended her judgment, till farther and more certain information ſhould be brought her: That the account which he had given, even if founded on no miſtake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counſellors, or juſtify the ſtrange irregularity of their proceedings: That the ſame force which, without reſiſtance, had maſſacred ſo many defenceleſs men, could eaſily have ſecured their perſons, and have reſerved them for a trial, and for puniſhment by a legal ſentence, which would have diſtinguiſhed the innocent from the guilty: That the admiral, in particular, being dangerouſly wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whoſe protection he ſeemed entirely to rely, had no means of eſcape, and might ſurely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: That it was more worthy of a ſovereign to reſerve in his own hands the ſword of juſtice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and mortal enemies of the perſons accuſed, employed it without mercy, and without diſtinction: That if theſe ſentiments were juſt, even ſuppoſing the conſpiracy of the proteſtants to be real, how much more ſo, if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their deſtruction? That if, upon enquiry, the innocence of theſe unhappy victims ſhould afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abuſed his confidence, had murdered ſo many of his brave ſubjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlaſting diſhonour: And that, for her part, ſhe ſhould form her judgment of his intentions by his ſubſequent conduct; and in the mean time ſhould act as deſired by the ambaſſador, and rather pity than blame his maſter for the extremities to which he had been carried [e].

[e] Digges, p. 247, 248.

ELIZABETH

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1572. ELIZABETH was fully ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation in which ſhe now ſtood. In the maſſacre of Paris, ſhe ſaw the reſult of that general conſpiracy, formed for the extermination of the proteſtants; and ſhe knew that ſhe herſelf, as the head and protectreſs of the new religion, was expoſed to the utmoſt fury and reſentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the ſame conſpiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity, as well as in bigotry, had now laid aſide their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the moſt entire friendſhip [f], ſhe had reaſon, as ſoon as they had appeaſed their domeſtic commotions, to dread the effects of their united counſels. The duke of Guiſe alſo, and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a diſtance, had now acquired an open and entire aſcendant in the court of France; and ſhe was ſenſible that theſe princes, from perſonal as well as political reaſons, were her declared and implacable enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and cloſe confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and, though detained in cuſtody, was actuated by a reſtleſs ſpirit, and, beſides her foreign allies, poſſeſſed numerous and zealous partizans in the heart of the kingdom. For theſe reaſons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but ſtill to liſten to the profeſſions of friendſhip which he made her. She allowed even the negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother [g]: Thoſe with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She ſent the earl of Worceſter to aſſiſt in her name at the baptiſm of a young princeſs, born to Charles; but before ſhe agreed to give him this laſt mark of condeſcenſion, ſhe thought it becoming her

[f] Digges, p. 268. 282. [g] Ibid. paſſim. Camden, p. 447.

dignity,

dignity, to renew her expreſſions of blame, and even of deteſtation againſt the cruelties exerciſed on his proteſtant ſubjects [h]. Meanwhile, ſhe prepared herſelf for that attack, which ſeemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romaniſts: She fortified Portſmouth, put her fleet in order, exerciſed her militia, cultivated popularity with her ſubjects, acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no leſs alarmed than herſelf at theſe treacherous and ſanguinary meaſures, ſo univerſally embraced by the catholics. CHAP. XL. 1572.

But though Elizabeth cautiouſly avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greateſt ſecurity that ſhe poſſeſſed againſt his violence, was derived from the difficulties, which the obſtinate reſiſtance of the hugonots ſtill created to him. Such of that ſect as lived near the frontiers, immediately, on the firſt news of the maſſacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compaſſion and indignation of the proteſtants, and prepared themſelves, with encreaſed forces and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous ſlaughter of their brethren. Thoſe who lived in the middle of kingdom, took ſhelter in the neareſt garriſons occupied by the hugonots; and finding, that they could repoſe no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. The ſect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thouſand men on foot, and poſſeſſed, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, caſtles, or fortreſſes [i]; nor could that prince deem himſelf ſecure from the invaſion threatened him by all the other proteſtants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were rouzed to ſuch French affairs. 1573.

[h] Digges, p. 297, 298. Camden, p. 447.

[i] Digges, p. 343.

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a pitch of reſentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to tranſ-
1573. port them into France, and to maintain them ſix months at their own charge: But Elizabeth, who was cautious in her meaſures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by theſe dangerous cruſades, refuſed her conſent, and moderated the zeal of her ſubjects[k]. The German princes, leſs political or more ſecure from the reſentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the proteſtants; and the young prince of Condé, having eſcaped from court, put himſelf at the head of theſe troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many conſiderable men even among the catholics, diſpleaſed, either on a private or public account, with the meaſures of the court, favoured the progreſs of the hugonots; and every thing relapſed into confuſion. The king, inſtead of repenting his violent counſels, which had brought matters to ſuch extremities,
1574. called aloud for new violences[l]; nor could even the mortal diſtemper under which he laboured, moderate the rage and animoſity, by which he was actuated. He died with-
30th May. out male iſſue, at the age of twenty-five years; a prince, whoſe character, containing that unuſual mixture of diſſimulation and ferocity, of quick reſentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greateſt miſchiefs, and threatened ſtill worſe, both to his native country and to all Europe.

HENRY, duke of Anjou, who had, ſome time before, been elected king of Poland, no ſooner heard of his brother's death, than he haſtened to take poſſeſſion of the throne of France; and found the kingdom, not only involved in the greateſt preſent diſorders, but expoſed to in-

[k] Digges, p. 335. 341. [l] Davila, lib. v.

firmities,

firmities, for which it was extremly difficult to provide any ſuitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or ſuffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation baniſhed, it ſeemed impracticable to find any terms of compoſition between them. Each party had devoted itſelf to leaders, whoſe commands had more authority than the will of the ſovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counſels of Guiſe and his family. The religious connections had, on both ſides, ſuperſeded the civil; or rather (for men will always be guided by preſent intereſt) two empires being ſecretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of intereſt to follow thoſe leaders, to whom, during the courſe of paſt convulſions, he had been indebted for his honours and preferment. CHAP. XL. 1575.

HENRY, obſerving the low condition of the crown, had laid a ſcheme for reſtoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himſelf. He poſſeſſed all the talents of diſſimulation requiſite for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and ſound judgment, inſtead of acquiring a ſuperiority over both factions, he loſt the confidence of both, and taught the partizans of each to adhere ſtill more cloſely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and ſincere in the cauſe which they eſpouſed. The hugonots were ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a German army under the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir; but much more by the credit and perſonal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himſelf at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in proſecution of 1576.

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his plan, entered into a compoſition with them; and being deſirous of preſerving a balance between the ſects, he

1576. granted them peace on the moſt advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugonots; but though it was no more ſincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the higheſt diſguſt to the catholics; and afforded the duke of Guiſe the deſired pretence of declaiming againſt the meaſures, and maxims, and conduct of the king.

THAT artful and bold leader took thence an occaſion of reducing his party into a more formed and regular body; and he laid the firſt foundations of the famous LEAGUE, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire ſuppreſſion of the hugonots. Such was the unhappy condition of France, from the paſt ſeverities and violent conduct of its princes, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and a conceſſion for liberty of conſcience, which would probably have appeaſed the reformers, excited the greateſt reſentment in the catho-

1577. lics. Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himſelf, and even to elude its efforts againſt the hugonots, declared himſelf the head of that ſeditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romaniſts. But his dilatory and feeble meaſures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking; and after ſome unſucceſsful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though leſs favourable than the former to the proteſtants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidence ſtill prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was ſuſpicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itſelf againſt that breach, which, they foreſaw, muſt ſpeedily enſue; theological controverſy daily whetted the animoſity of the ſects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

THE

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THE king, hoping by his artifice and ſubtlety, to allure the nation into a love of pleaſure and repoſe, was himſelf caught in the ſnare; and ſinking into a diſſolute indolence, wholly loſt the eſteem, and, in a great meaſure, the affections of his people. Inſtead of advancing ſuch men of character and abilities as were neuters between theſe dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young agreeable favourites, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium againſt his adminiſtration. The public burdens, encreaſed by his profuſe liberality, and felt more heavy on a diſordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrouled animoſity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open ſtate of foreign or even domeſtic hoſtility. The artifices of the king were too refined to ſucceed, and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guiſe on one ſide, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themſelves without reſerve to one or the other of thoſe great leaders. 1578. 1579.

THE civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foreſight and vigilance, though ſomewhat reſtrained by her frugality, led her to take ſecretly ſome part in them. Beſides employing on all occaſions her good offices in favour of the hugonots, ſhe had expended no inconſiderable ſums in levying that army of Germans, which the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir conducted into France[m]; and notwithſtanding her negociations with the court, and her profeſſions of amity, ſhe always conſidered her own intereſts as connected with the proſperity of the French proteſtants

[m] Camden, p. 452.

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and the depreſſion of the houſe of Guiſe. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himſelf protector of the league; had entered into the cloſeſt correſpondence with Guiſe; and had employed all his authority in ſupporting the credit of that factious leader. The ſympathy of religion, which of itſelf begat a connection of intereſts, was one conſiderable inducement; but that monarch had alſo in view, the ſubduing of his rebellious ſubjects in the Netherlands; who, as they received great encouragement from the French proteſtants, would, he hoped, finally deſpair of ſucceſs, after the entire ſuppreſſion of their friends and confederates.

Civil wars of the Low Countries.

THE ſame political views, which engaged Elizabeth to ſupport the hugonots, would have led her to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in theſe mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithſtanding all temptations and all provocations, to preſerve ſome terms of amity with that monarch. The Spaniſh ambaſſador repreſented to her, that many of the Flemiſh exiles, who infeſted the ſeas, and preyed on his maſter's ſubjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to diſpoſe of their prizes; and by theſe remonſtrances the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this meaſure proved in the iſſue extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of Philip. Theſe deſperate exiles, finding no longer any poſſibility of ſubſiſtence, were forced to attempt the moſt perilous enterprizes; and they made an aſſault on the Brille, a ſea-port town in Holland, where they met with ſucceſs, and after a ſhort reſiſtance, became maſters of the place[n]. The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and ſtopping thoſe bloody

[n] Camden, p. 443.

executions,

executions, which he was making on the defenceleſs Flemings, he haſtened with his army to extinguiſh the flame, which, falling on materials ſo well prepared for combuſtion, ſeemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears ſoon appeared to be well-grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared againſt the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572. CHAP. XL. 1579.

WILLIAM, prince of Orange, deſcended from a ſovereign family of great luſtre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the poſſeſſions of a ſovereign family in France, had fixed his reſidence in the Low Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immenſe riches, as well as of his perſonal merit, was univerſally regarded as the greateſt ſubject that lived in thoſe provinces. He had oppoſed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical ſpirit of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in abſence, was declared a rebel, and his ample poſſeſſions in the Low Countries were confiſcated. In revenge, he had levied an army of proteſtants in the empire, and had made ſome attempts to reſtore the Flemings to liberty; but was ſtill repulſed with loſs by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery,

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as well as diſcipline, of thoſe veteran Spaniards who ſerved under that general.

1579. THE revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no leſs than ſpirit, to that obſtinate reſiſtance, which was here made to the Spaniſh dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illuſtrious commonwealth, the offspring of induſtry and liberty, whoſe arms and policy have long made ſo ſignal a figure in every tranſaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive, which religious zeal, reſentment, or love of freedom could inſpire. Though the preſent greatneſs of the Spaniſh monarchy might deprive them of all courage, he ſtill flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with aſſiſtance from neighbouring ſtates; and he exhorted them, in defence of their religion, their liberties, their lives, to endure the utmoſt extremities of war. From this ſpirit proceeded the deſperate defence of Harlem; a defence, which nothing but the moſt conſuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thouſand of the inhabitants[o]. This extreme ſeverity, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by deſpair; and the vigorous reſiſtance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally repulſed, ſhowed them that their inſolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at laſt the pernicious effects of his violent councils, ſolicited to be recalled: Medina-celi, who was appointed his ſucceſſor, refuſed to accept the government: Requeſens, commendator of Caſtile, was ſent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from

[o] Bentivoglio, lib. 7.

the

the Netherlands in 1574; leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boaſting in his turn, that, during the courſe of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thouſand of theſe rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner [p]. 1579.

REQUESENS, though a man of milder diſpoſitions, could not appeaſe the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived againſt the Spaniſh government; and the war continued as obſtinate as ever. In the ſiege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and ſluices, in order to drive them from the enterprize; and the very peaſants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwithſtanding this repulſe, the governor ſtill purſued the war; and the conteſt ſeemed too unequal between ſo mighty a monarchy, and two ſmall provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the deſperate reſolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was reſolved to ſue for foreign ſuccour, and to make applications to one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the ſame ſpirit of tyranny and perſecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torn by domeſtic diſſentions, ſeemed not to enjoy, at preſent, either leiſure or ability to pay regard to foreign intereſts. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliance, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by ſympathy in religion, ſeemed naturally intereſted in their defence; and as Elizabeth had juſtly entertained great jealouſy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or

[p] Grotius, lib. ii.

her

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her generoſity, would engage her to ſupport them under their preſent calamities. They ſent, therefore, a ſolemn embaſſy to London, conſiſting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelle, Buys, and Melſen; and after employing the moſt humble ſupplications to the queen, they offered her the poſſeſſion and ſovereignty of their provinces, if ſhe would exert her power in their defence.

THERE were many ſtrong motives which might impel Elizabeth to accept of ſo liberal an offer. She was apprized of the injuries which Philip had done her, by his intrigues with the malcontents in England and Ireland [q]: She foreſaw the danger, which ſhe muſt incur from a total prevalence of the catholics in the Low Countries: And the maritime ſituation of thoſe provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumſtance to a nation like the Engliſh, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princeſs, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conqueſts, or gaining new acquiſitions; and the whole purpoſe of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the moſt frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spaniſh monarchy was the apparent conſequence of her accepting the dominion of theſe provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, ſhe could never afterwards in honour abandon them, but, however deſperate their defence might become, ſhe muſt embrace it, even farther than her convenience or intereſts would permit. For theſe reaſons, ſhe refuſed, in poſitive terms, the ſovereignty proffered her; but told the ambaſſadors that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had ſhown her, ſhe would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the moſt rea-

[q] Digges, p. 73.

ſonable

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ſonable terms that could be obtained[r]. She ſent accordingly Sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and repreſented to him the danger which he would incur of loſing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the leaſt interval from her inteſtine diſorders, and find leiſure to offer her protection to thoſe mutinous and diſcontented provinces. Philip ſeemed to take this remonſtrance in good part; but no accord enſued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the ſame rage and violence as before.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their preſent deſperate ſituation. Requeſens, the governor, dying ſuddenly, the Spaniſh troops, diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confuſion. They ſacked and pillaged the cities of Maeſtricht and Antwerp, and executed great ſlaughter on the inhabitants: They threatened the other cities with a like fate: And all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence againſt their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the reſtoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually ſtipulated to purſue. Don John of Auſtria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had ſo fortified themſelves, and that the Spaniſh troops were ſo divided by their ſituation, that there was no poſſibility of reſiſtance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and theſe provinces ſeemed at laſt to breathe a little from their calamities.

[r] Camden, p. 453, 454.

But

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BUT it was not eaſy to ſettle entire peace, while the thirſt of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were ſo ſtrongly agitated with reſentment of paſt, and fear of future, injuries. The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, engaged him rather to inflame than appeaſe the quarrel; and as he found the States determined to impoſe very ſtrict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, ſeized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spaniſh army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the proſperous ſucceſſes of his youth, had opened his mind to vaſt undertakings; and looking much beyond the conqueſt of the revolted provinces, had projected to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the Britiſh kingdoms[s]. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and ſeeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair proſpect of their making a long and vigorous defence againſt Spain, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which ſeemed ſo intimately connected with her own ſafety. After ſending them a ſum of money, about twenty thouſand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, ſhe concluded a treaty with them; in which ſhe ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thouſand pounds, on receiving the bonds of ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed, that the commander of the Engliſh army ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; and nothing be determined concerning war or peace, without previouſly informing the queen or him of it; that they ſhould enter into no league without her conſent; that if any diſcord

[s] Camden, p. 466. Grotius, lib. iii.

aroſe

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aroſe among themſelves, it ſhould be referred to her arbitration; and that, if any prince, on any pretext, ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend to her aſſiſtance an army equal to that which ſhe had employed in their defence. This alliance was ſigned on the 7th of January, 1578[t].

One conſiderable inducement to the queen for entering into treaty with the States, was to prevent their throwing themſelves into the arms of France; and ſhe was deſirous to make the king of Spain believe, that it was her ſole motive. She repreſented to him, by her ambaſſador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto ſhe had religiouſly acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refuſed the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had adviſed the prince of Orange to ſubmit to the king; and had even accompanied her counſel with menaces, in caſe of his refuſal. She perſevered, ſhe ſaid, in the ſame friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpoſe with her advice for the compoſure of the preſent differences: Let Don John, whom ſhe could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let ſome other prince more popular be ſubſtituted in his room; let the Spaniſh armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be reſtored to their ancient liberties and privileges: And if, after theſe conceſſions, they were ſtill obſtinate not to return to their duty, ſhe promiſed to join her arms with thoſe of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip diſſembled his reſentment againſt the queen; and ſtill continued to ſupply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulſed at Rimenant, by the valour of the Engliſh under Norris, and though oppoſed, as well by the army of the States as by prince Caſimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen,

[t] Camden, p. 466.

gained

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1579. gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midſt of his proſperity by poiſon, given him ſecretly, as was ſuſpected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma ſucceeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negociation and military exploits, made great progreſs againſt the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progreſs of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

DURING theſe years, while Europe was almoſt every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration, and to the wiſe precautions which ſhe employed in all her meaſures. By ſupporting the zealous proteſtants in Scotland, ſhe had twice given them the ſuperiority over their antagoniſts, had cloſely connected their intereſts with her own, and had procured herſelf entire ſecurity from that quarter, whence the moſt dangerous invaſions could be made upon her. She ſaw in France her enemies, the Guiſes, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugonots, her zealous partizans; and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their reſtleſs and exorbitant ambition. The bigotry of Philip gave her juſt ground of anxiety; but the ſame bigotry had happily excited the moſt obſtinate oppoſition among his own ſubjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy were not likely ſoon to ſubdue. The queen of Scots, her antagoniſt and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a priſoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high ſpirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partizans in England.

RELIGION was the capital point, on which depended all the political tranſactions of that age; and the queen's

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conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could ſcarcely be accuſed of ſeverity or imprudence. She eſtabliſhed no inquiſition into men's boſoms: She impoſed no oath of ſupremacy, except on thoſe who received truſt or emolument from the public: And though the exerciſe of every religion but the eſtabliſhed was prohibited by ſtatute, the violation of this law, by ſaying maſs, and receiving the ſacrament in private houſes, was, in many inſtances, connived at[u]; while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, ſhewed little reluctance againſt going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worſhip. The pope, ſenſible that this practice would by degrees reconcile all his partizans to the reformed religion, haſtened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emiſſaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as poſſible, and to make the frequenting of proteſtant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics[w]. Theſe practices, with the rebellion which enſued, encreaſed the vigilance and ſeverity of the government; but the Romaniſts, if their condition were compared with that of the Nonconformiſts in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not juſtly complain of violence or perſecution. 1579.

THE queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a ſtrict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretenſions were not ſo immediately dangerous to her authority, ſeemed to be actuated by a more unreaſonable obſtinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to diſcern the full

[u] Camden, p. 459. [w] Walſingham's Letter in Burnet, vol. ii. p. 418. Cabala, p. 406.

ſcope

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ſcope and intention. Some ſecret attempts of that ſect to eſtabliſh a ſeparate congregation and diſcipline, had been carefully repreſſed in the beginning of this reign [x]; and when any of the eſtabliſhed clergy diſcovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had ſhewn a determined reſolution to puniſh them by fines and deprivation [y]: Though her orders to that purpoſe had been frequently eluded, by the ſecret protection which theſe ſectaries received from ſome of her moſt conſiderable courtiers.

BUT what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her ſubjects, was, her frugality, which, though carried ſometimes to an extreme, led her not to amaſs treaſures, but only to prevent impoſitions upon her people, who were at that time very little accuſtomed to bear the burthens of government. By means of her rigid œconomy, ſhe paid all the debts which ſhe found on the crown, with their full intereſt; though ſome of theſe debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father [z]. Some loans, which ſhe had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her; a practice in that age ſomewhat unuſual [a]: And ſhe eſtabliſhed her credit on ſuch a footing, that no ſovereign in Europe could more readily command any ſum, which the public exigencies might at any time require [b]. During this peaceable and uniform government, England furniſhes few materials for hiſtory; and except the ſmall part which Elizabeth took in foreign tranſactions, there ſcarcely paſſed any occurrence, which requires a particular detail.

A parliament.

THE moſt memorable event in this period was a ſeſſion of parliament, held on the 8th of February, 1576; where debates were ſtarted, which may appear ſomewhat

x Strype's Life of Parker, p. 342. Ibid. Life of Grindal, p. 315.
y Heylin, p. 165, 166.
z D'Ewes, p. 245. Camden, p. 446.
a D'Ewes, p. 246.
b Ibid. p. 245.

curious

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curious and ſingular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had ſignalized himſelf in former parliaments, by his free and undaunted ſpirit, opened this ſeſſion with a premeditated harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the houſe, and gave great offence to the queen and the miniſters. As it ſeems to contain a rude ſketch of thoſe principles of liberty, which happily gained afterwards the aſcendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the ſubſtance of it. He premiſed, that the very name of liberty is ſweet; but the thing itſelf is precious beyond the moſt ineſtimable treaſure: And that it behoved them to be careful, leſt, contenting themſelves with the ſweetneſs of the name, they forego the ſubſtance, and abandon what of all earthly poſſeſſions was of the higheſt value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to obſerve, that freedom of ſpeech in that houſe, a privilege ſo uſeful both to ſovereign and ſubject, had been formerly infringed in many eſſential articles, and was, at preſent, expoſed to the moſt imminent danger: That it was uſual, when any ſubject of importance was handled, eſpecially if it regarded religion, to ſurmiſe, that theſe topics were diſagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: That Solomon had juſtly affirmed the king's diſpleaſure to be a meſſenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conſcience and duty, ſhould be inclined to ſtop ſhort, when they found themſelves expoſed to ſo ſevere a penalty: That, by the employing of this argument, the houſe was incapacitated from ſerving their country, and even from ſerving the queen herſelf; whoſe ears, beſieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered inacceſſible to the moſt ſalutary truths: That it was a mockery to call an aſſembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was ſo eſſential to its being, and without

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which it must degenerate into an abject school of servility and dissimulation: That, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to discharge their trust, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themselves derive their being: That a king was constituted such by law, and though he was not dependent on man, yet was he subordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their prescriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: That even his commission, as God's vicegerent, enforced, instead of loosening, this obligation; since he was thereby invested with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and justice: That though these surmises of displeasing the queen by their proceedings, had impeached, in a very essential point, all freedom of speech, a privilege granted them by a special law; yet was there a more express and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties, by frequent messages from the throne: That it had become a practice, when the house was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and debarring them from all farther discussion of these momentous articles: That the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicitly submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: That the love which he bore his sovereign, forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance: And that, as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but, in imposing this servitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great, and even dangerous, fault against herself and the whole commonwealth [c].

[c] D'Ewes, p. 236, 237, &c.

It

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It is eaſy to obſerve, from this ſpeech, that, in this dawn of liberty, the parliamentary ſtyle was ſtill crude and unformed; and that the proper decorum of attacking miniſters and counſellors, without intereſting the honour of the crown, or mentioning the perſon of the ſovereign, was not yet entirely eſtabliſhed. The commons expreſſed great diſpleaſure at this unuſual licence: They ſequeſtered Wentworth from the houſe, and committed him priſoner to the ſerjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, conſiſting of all thoſe members who were alſo members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the houſe. This committee met in the ſtar-chamber, and, wearing the aſpect of that arbitrary court, ſummoned Wentworth to appear before them and anſwer for his behaviour. But though the commons had diſcovered ſo little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the ſtar-chamber; Wentworth better underſtood the principles of liberty, and refuſed to give theſe counſellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were ſatisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the houſe[d]. He juſtified his liberty of ſpeech, by pleading the rigour and hardſhip of the queen's meſſages; and, notwithſtanding that the committee ſhewed him, by inſtances in other reigns, that the practice of ſending ſuch meſſages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to expreſs any ſorrow or repentance. The iſſue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen ſent to the commons, informing them, that, from her ſpecial grace and favour, ſhe had reſtored him to his liberty, and to his place in the houſe[e]. By this ſeeming lenity, ſhe indirectly retained the power which ſhe had aſſumed, of impriſoning the members, and obliging them to anſwer before her for

[d] D'Ewes, p. 241. [e] Ibid. p. 244.

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1579. their conduct in parliament. And Sir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the houſe ſenſible of her majeſty's goodneſs, in ſo gently remitting the indignation which ſhe might juſtly conceive at the temerity of their member: But he informed them, that they had not the liberty of ſpeaking what and of whom they pleaſed; and that indiſcreet freedoms, uſed in that houſe, had, both in the preſent and foregoing ages, met with a proper chaſtiſement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuſe farther the queen's clemency; leſt ſhe be conſtrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unſucceſsful lenity into a neceſſary ſeverity [f].

THE behaviour of the two houſes was, in every other reſpect, equally tame and ſubmiſſive. Inſtead of a bill, which was at firſt introduced [g], for the reformation of the church, they were contented to preſent a petition to her majeſty for that purpoſe: And when ſhe told them that ſhe would give orders to her biſhops to amend all abuſes, and if they were negligent, ſhe would herſelf, by her ſupreme power and authority over the church, give ſuch redreſs as would entirely ſatisfy the nation; the parliament willingly acquieſced in this ſovereign and peremptory deciſion [h].

THOUGH the commons ſhewed ſo little ſpirit in oppoſing the authority of the crown, they maintained, this ſeſſion, their dignity againſt an encroachment of the peers, and would not agree to a conference, which, they thought, was demanded of them in an irregular manner. They acknowledged, however, with all humbleneſs (ſuch is their expreſſion), the ſuperiority of the lords: They only refuſed to give that houſe any reaſon for their proceedings; and aſſerted, that, where they altered a bill ſent them by the peers, it belonged to them to deſire a conference, not to the upper houſe to require it [i].

[f] D'Ewes, p. 259. [g] Ibid. p. 252. [h] Ibid. p. 257.
[i] Ibid. p. 263.

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THE commons granted an aid of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to ſatisfy the houſe concerning the reaſonableneſs of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's paſt expences in ſupporting the government, and of the encreaſing charges of the crown, from the daily encreaſe in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admoniſh them, that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condeſcenſion, ſince ſhe was not bound to give them any account how ſhe employed her treaſure[k].

[k] D'Ewes, p. 246.

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Affairs of Scotland —— Spaniſh affairs —— Sir Francis Drake —— A parliament —— Negociations of marriage with the duke of Anjou —— Affairs of Scotland —— Letter of queen Mary to Elizabeth —— Conſpiracies in England —— A parliament —— The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion —— Affairs of the Low Countries —— Hoſtilities with Spain.

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THE greateſt and moſt abſolute ſecurity that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign, never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the ſcene began now to be more overcaſt, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in ſtrict alliance with the queen, and had alſo reſtored domeſtic tranquillity to that kingdom: But it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itſelf in a country unacquainted with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes ſo often met with oppoſition and controul. The nobility began anew to break into factions: The people were diſguſted with ſome inſtances of Morton's avarice: And the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and encreaſed the diſcontent of the other orders. The regent was ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation; and, having dropped ſome peeviſh expreſſions, as if he were willing or deſirous to reſign, the noblemen of the oppoſite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this conceſſion, and required that demiſſion which he ſeemed ſo frankly to offer them.

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James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having ſecured himſelf, as he imagined, by a general pardon, reſigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the adminiſtration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government; and ſeemed to employ himſelf entirely in the care of his domeſtic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared inſipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off diſſimulation, he came again to court; acquired an aſcendant in the council; and though he reſumed not the title of regent, governed with the ſame authority as before. The oppoſite party, after holding ſeparate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and reſtoring him to the free exerciſe of his government: Queen Elizabeth interpoſed by her ambaſſador, Sir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept poſſeſſion of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority ſeemed to become every day more precarious.

THE count d'Aubigney, of the houſe of Lenox, couſin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good addreſs and a ſweet diſpoſition, he appeared to the duke of Guiſe a proper inſtrument for detaching James from the Engliſh intereſt, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He no ſooner appeared at Stirling, where James reſided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and joining his intereſts with thoſe of James Stuart of the houſe of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himſelf, under the appearance of play and amuſement, in inſtilling into the tender mind of the prince new ſentiments of politics and government. He

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repreſented to him the injuſtice which had been done to Mary in her depoſition, and made him entertain thoughts either of reſigning the crown into her hands, or of aſſociating her with him in the adminiſtration [l]. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might enſue from the prevalence of this intereſt in Scotland, ſent anew Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accuſing d'Aubigney, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James againſt entertaining ſuch ſuſpicious and dangerous connexions [m]. The king excuſed himſelf, by Sir Alexander Hume his ambaſſador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared againſt him, was farther confirmed in his intention of overturning the Engliſh intereſt, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arreſted in council, accuſed as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to priſon, brought to trial, and condemned to ſuffer as a traitor. He confeſſed that Bothwel had communicated to him the deſign, had pleaded Mary's conſent, and had deſired his concurrence; but he denied that he himſelf had ever expreſſed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuſe for his concealing it, he alleged the danger of revealing the ſecret, either to Henry, who had no reſolution nor conſtancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder [n]. Sir Thomas Randolph was ſent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambaſſador, not content with diſcharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his perſuaſion, the earls of Argyle, Montroſe, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be aſſembled on the borders of

[l] Digges, p. 412. 428. Melvil, p. 130. [m] Spotſwood, p. 309.
[n] Ibid. p. 314. Crawford, p. 333. Moyſe's Memoirs, p. 54.

England;

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England; but this expedient ſerved only to haſten his ſentence and execution[o]. Morton died with that conſtancy and reſolution, which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was leſs diſputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this concluſion of the ſcene happened not till the ſubſequent year. 1580.

Spaniſh affairs.

ELIZABETH was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; both becauſe that country alone, not being ſeparated from England by ſea, and bordering on all the catholic and malcontent counties, afforded her enemies a ſafe and eaſy method of attacking her; and becauſe ſhe was ſenſible, that Mary, thinking herſelf abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guiſes to have recourſe to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and ſuffered, more exaſperated againſt her. That he might retaliate the aſſiſtance which ſhe gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had ſent, under the name of the pope[p], a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and diſcontented with the Engliſh government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spaniſh general, San Joſepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there beſieged by the earl of Ormond, preſident of Munſter, who was ſoon after joined by lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After ſome aſſaults, feebly ſuſtained, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Gray, who commanded but a ſmall force, finding himſelf incumbered with ſo many priſoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the ſword without mercy, and hanged

[o] Spotſwood, p. 312. [p] Digges, p. 359. 370.

about

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about fifteen hundred of the Iriſh: A cruelty which gave great diſpleaſure to Elizabeth [q].

1580. Sir Francis Drake.

When the Engliſh ambaſſador made complaints of this invaſion, he was anſwered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold ſeaman, who had aſſaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure, in the new world. This man, ſprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired conſiderable riches by depredations made in the iſthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a ſight of the Pacific ocean, was ſo ſtimulated by ambition and avarice, that he ſcrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas, ſo much unknown at that time to all the European nations [r]. By means of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her conſent and approbation; and he ſet ſail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ſhips and a pinnace, on board of which were 164 able ſailors [s]. He paſſed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in thoſe quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the ſame way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific ocean, he attempted to find a paſſage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprize, he ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the Globe; and the firſt commander in chief: For Magellan, whoſe ſhip executed the ſame adventure, died in his paſſage. His name became celebrated on account of ſo bold and for-

[q] Camden, p. 475. Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 368. [r] Camden, p. 478. Stowe, p. 689. [s] Camden, p. 478. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 730. 748. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46.

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funate an attempt; but many, apprehending the reſentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to perſuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to diſavow the enterprize, to puniſh Drake, and to reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and who was allured by the proſpect of ſharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant ſailor: She conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ſhip, which had atchieved ſo memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambaſſador, Mendoza, exclaimed againſt Drake's piracies, ſhe told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole new world, and excluding thence all other European nations, who ſhould ſail thither, even with a view of exerciſing the moſt lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into thoſe countries[t]. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, ſhe cauſed part of the booty to be reſtored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had ſpoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had ſeized the money, and had employed part of it againſt herſelf in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, ſhe determined to make no more reſtitutions.

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THERE was another cauſe, which induced the queen to take this reſolution: She was in ſuch want of money, that ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament, a meaſure, which, as ſhe herſelf openly declared, ſhe never embraced, except when conſtrained by the neceſſity of her affairs. The parliament, beſides granting her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, enacted ſome ſtatutes for the ſecurity of her government, chiefly againſt the attempts of the catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any

16th Jan. A parliament.

[t] Camden, p. 480.

one

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one to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; to ſay maſs was ſubjected to the penalty of a year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being preſent was puniſhable by a year's impriſonment and a fine of a hundred marks: A fine of twenty pounds a-month was impoſed on every one who continued, during that time, abſent from church [u]. To utter ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony: The writing or printing of ſuch words was felony even on the firſt offence [w]. The puritans prevailed ſo far as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion [x]. And Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the preceding ſeſſion, moved, that the commons, from their own authority, ſhould appoint a general faſt and prayers; a motion, to which the houſe unwarily aſſented. For this preſumption, they were ſeverely reprimanded by a meſſage from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and ſupremacy; and they were obliged to ſubmit, and aſk forgiveneſs [y].

THE queen and parliament were engaged to paſs theſe ſevere laws againſt the catholics, by ſome late diſcoveries of the treaſonable practices of their prieſts. When the ancient worſhip was ſuppreſſed, and the reformation introduced into the univerſities, the king of Spain reflected, that, as ſome ſpecies of literature was neceſſary for ſupporting theſe doctrines and controverſies, the Romiſh communion muſt decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the eccleſiaſtics; and for this reaſon, he founded a ſeminary at Douay, where the catholics ſent their children, chiefly ſuch as were intended

[u] 23 Eliz. cap. 1. [w] Ibid. cap. 2. [x] D'Ewes, p. 302.
[y] Ibid. p. 284, 285.

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for the prieſthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like ſeminary in his dioceſe of Rheims; and though Rome was ſomewhat diſtant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the ſame nature, that capital of orthodoxy. Theſe ſeminaries, founded with ſo hoſtile an intention, ſent over every year a colony of prieſts, who maintained the catholic ſuperſtition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infuſed into all their votaries an extreme hatred againſt the queen; whom they treated as an uſurper, a ſchiſmatic, a heretic, a perſecutor of the orthodox, and one ſolemnly and publicly anathematiſed by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, ſometimes aſſaſſination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purpoſes againſt her; and the ſevere reſtraint, not to ſay perſecution, under which the catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghoſtly fathers, ſuch violent doctrines.

THESE ſeminaries were all of them under the direction of the jeſuits, a new order of regular prieſts erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived, that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who ſufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, aſſailed on every ſide, and that the inquiſitive ſpirit of the age required a ſociety more active and more learned, to oppoſe its dangerous progreſs. Theſe men, as they ſtood foremoſt in the conteſt againſt the proteſtants, drew on them the extreme animoſity of that whole ſect; and by aſſuming a ſuperiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even expoſed to the envy of their brethren:

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brethren: So that it is no wonder, if the blame, to which their principles and conduct might be expoſed, has, in many inſtances, been much exaggerated. This reproach, however, they muſt bear from poſterity, that, by the very nature of their inſtitution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy againſt ſuperſtition, into a nouriſhment of that infirmity; and as their erudition was chiefly of the eccleſiaſtical and ſcholaſtic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature), they were only the more enabled, by that acquiſition, to refine away the plaineſt dictates of morality, and to erect a regular ſyſtem of caſuiſtry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, when it ſerved their ghoſtly purpoſes, might be juſtified and defended.

THE jeſuits, as devoted ſervants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the ſovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and by maintaining his authority of depoſing kings, ſet no bounds, either to his ſpiritual or temporal juriſdiction. This doctrine became ſo prevalent among the zealous catholics in England, that the excommunication, fulminated againſt Elizabeth, excited many ſcruples of a ſingular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in abſolving the ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to reſiſt the queen's uſurpation; and many Romaniſts were apprehenſive, that, by this clauſe, they were obliged in conſcience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel againſt her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indiſpenſable duty. But Parſons and Campion, two jeſuits, were ſent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their diſciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partizans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the ſovereign pontiff ſhould think proper, by a new ſummons,

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ſummons, to require it[z]. Campion was afterwards detected in treaſonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confeſſing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and proſecuted, with the greateſt appearance of ſucceſs, his marriage with the queen; and this ſeverity was probably intended to appeaſe her proteſtant ſubjects, and to ſatisfy them, that whatever meaſures ſhe might purſue, ſhe never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

Negociations of marriage with the duke of Anjou.

THE duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretenſions to Elizabeth; and that princeſs, though her ſuitor was near twenty-five years younger than herſelf, and had no knowledge of her perſon, but by pictures or deſcriptions, was ſtill pleaſed with the image, which his addreſſes afforded her, of love and tenderneſs. The duke, in order to forward his ſuit, beſides employing his brother's ambaſſador, ſent over Simier, an agent of his own; an artful man, of an agreeable converſation, who ſoon remarking the queen's humour, amuſed her with gay diſcourſe, and inſtead of ſerious political reaſonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his maſter's intereſts, he introduced every moment all the topics of paſſion and of gallantry. The pleaſure, which ſhe found in this man's company, ſoon produced a familiarity between them; and, amidſt the greateſt hurry of buſineſs, her moſt confidential miniſters had not ſuch ready acceſs to her, as had Simier, who on pretence of negociation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leiceſter, who had never before been alarmed with any courtſhip payed her, and who always truſted, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend,

[z] Camden, p. 477.

that

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that ſhe was at laſt caught in her own ſnare, and that the artful encouragement, which ſhe had given to this young ſuitor, had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himſelf of the credulity of the times, and ſpread reports, that that miniſter had gained an aſcendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her conſtitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to diſcredit Leiceſter with the queen; and he revealed to her a ſecret, which none of her courtiers dared to diſcloſe, that this nobleman was ſecretly, without her conſent, married to the widow of the earl of Eſſex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of reſpect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which ſo provoked her, that ſhe threatened to ſend him to the Tower [a]. The quarrel went ſo far between Leiceſter and the French agent, that the former was ſuſpected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it neceſſary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and ſome of her courtiers, a ſhot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon enquiry, that the piece had been diſcharged by accident, gave the perſon his liberty, without farther puniſhment. So far was ſhe from entertaining any ſuſpicion againſt her people, that ſhe was often heard to ſay, "That ſhe would lend credit to no-"thing againſt them, which parents would not believe "of their own children [b]."

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts ſent him of the queen's prepoſſeſſions in his favour, paid her ſecretly a viſit at Greenwich; and after ſome con-

[a] Camden. p. 471. [b] Idem, ibid.

ference

ference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had loſt no ground by being perſonally known to her; and ſoon after, ſhe commanded Burleigh, now treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had ſent over on this occaſion a ſplendid embaſſy, conſiſting of Francis de Bourbon, prince Dauphin, and many conſiderable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of preſcribing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon ſettled with the Engliſh commiſſioners. It was agreed, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould have the exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage he ſhould bear the title of King, but the adminiſtration remain ſolely in the queen; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in caſe of Henry's death without iſſue, ſhould be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he ſucceed to the crown of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide in England eight months every two years; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England[b].

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THESE articles, providing for the ſecurity of England, in caſe of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a diſmal proſpect to the Engliſh; had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehenſions of this nature. The queen alſo, as a proof of her ſtill remaining uncertainty, added a clauſe, that ſhe was not bound to

[b] Camden, p. 484.

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1581. complete the marriage, till farther articles, which were not ſpecified, ſhould be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen ſent over Walſingham, as ambaſſador to France, in order to form cloſer connections with Henry, and enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the encreaſing power and dangerous uſurpations of Spain. The French king, who had been extremely diſturbed with the unquiet ſpirit, the reſtleſs ambition, the enterprizing, yet timid and inconſtant diſpoſition of Anjou, had already ſought to free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a ſcene for his activity in Flanders; and having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had ſecretly ſupplied him with men and money for the undertaking. The proſpect of ſettling him in England was, for a like reaſon, very agreeable to that monarch; and he was deſirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable ſentiments which Elizabeth ſeemed to entertain towards him. But this princeſs, though ſhe had gone farther in her amorous [c] dalliance than could be juſtified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final concluſion; and ſhe confined Walſingham, in his inſtructions, to negociating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England [d]. Henry with reluctance ſubmitted to hold conferences on that ſubject; but no ſooner had Walſingham begun to ſettle the terms of alliance, than he was informed, that the queen, foreſeeing hoſtility with Spain to be the reſult of this confederacy, had declared, that ſhe would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage [e]. The French court, pleaſed with this change of reſolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league,

[c] Digges, p. 387. 396. 408. 426.
[d] Ibid. p. 352.
[e] Ibid. p. 375. 591.

and

and opened a negociation for the marriage[f]. But matters had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walſingham to renew the conferences for that purpoſe. Before he had leiſure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of reſolution[g]; and not only the court of France, but Walſingham himſelf, Burleigh, and all the wiſeſt miniſters of Elizabeth, were in amazement, doubtful where this conteſt between inclination and reaſon, love and ambition, would at laſt terminate[h]. CHAP. XLI. 1581.

In the courſe of this affair, Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new conteſt between her reaſon and her ruling paſſions. The duke of Anjou expected from her ſome money, by which he might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders; and the queen herſelf, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was ſenſible that this ſupply was neceſſary; and ſhe was at laſt induced, after much heſitation, to comply with his requeſt[i]. She ſent him a preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns; by which, joined to his own demeſnes and the aſſiſtance of his brother and the queen dowager, he levied an army, and took the field againſt the prince of Parma. He was ſucceſsful in raiſing the ſiege of Cambray; and being choſen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England, in order to proſecute his ſuit to the queen. The reception which he met with, made him expect entire ſucceſs, and gave him hopes, that Elizabeth had ſurmounted all ſcruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her huſband. In the midſt of the pomp, which attended the anniverſary of her coronation, 17th Nov.

[f] Digges, p. 392. Rymer, xv. p. 793.
[g] Ibid. p. 408.
[h] See note [Q] at the end of the volume.
[i] Digges, p. 357. 387, 388. 409. 426. 439.

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ſhe was ſeen, after long and intimate diſcourſe with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the ſpectators concluded, that, in this ceremony, ſhe had given him a promiſe of marriage, and was even deſirous of ſignifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambaſſador from the States, diſpatched immediately a letter to his maſters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who, as well as the other Flemings, regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, teſtified their joy by bonfires and the diſcharge of their great ordnance[k]. A puritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a paſſionate book, which he entitled, "The Gulph in which England will be ſwallowed by the French Marriage." He was apprehended and proſecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to loſe his right hand as a libeller. Such was the conſtancy and loyalty of the man, that, immediately after the ſentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God ſave the queen!"

But notwithſtanding this attachment, which Elizabeth ſo openly diſcovered to the duke of Anjou, the combat of her ſentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rouſing itſelf by intervals, ſtill filled her breaſt with doubt and heſitation. Almoſt all the courtiers, whom ſhe truſted and favoured, Leiceſter, Hatton, and Walſingham, diſcovered an extreme averſion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bedchamber made no ſcruple of oppoſing her reſolution with the moſt zealous remonſtrances[l]. Among other enemies to the match, Sir Philip, ſon of Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leiceſter, a young man the moſt accompliſhed of the age, declared himſelf: And he uſed the freedom to write her a letter, in which

[k] Camden, p. 486. Thuan. lib. 74.

[l] Camden, p. 486.

he

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he diſſuaded her from her preſent reſolution, with an unuſual elegance of expreſſion, as well as force of reaſoning. He told her, that the ſecurity of her government depended entirely on the affections of her proteſtant ſubjects; and ſhe could not, by any meaſure, more effectually diſguſt them, than by eſpouſing a prince, who was ſon of the perfidious Catherine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himſelf embrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceleſs proteſtants: That the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that ſhe had originally uſurped the crown, or was now lawfully depoſed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever ſo much elevated their hopes as the proſpect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou: That her chief ſecurity at preſent, againſt the efforts of ſo numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they poſſeſſed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterprizes; and ſhe herſelf was raſhly ſupplying that defect, by giving an intereſt in the kingdom to a prince, whoſe education had zealouſly attached him to that communion: That though he was a ſtranger to the blood royal of England, the diſpoſitions of men were now ſuch, that they preferred the religious to the civil connections; and were more influenced by ſympathy in theological opinions, than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: That the duke himſelf had diſcovered a very reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his ſovereign, there remained no hopes that he would paſſively ſubmit to a woman, whom he might, in quality of huſband, think himſelf entitled to command: That the French nation, ſo populous, ſo much abounding in ſoldiers, ſo full of nobility, who were devoted to arms, and, for ſome time, accuſtomed to ſerve for plunder, would ſupply him with partizans, dangerous to a people, unwarlike

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warlike and defenceleſs like the generality of her ſubjects: That the plain and honourable path which ſhe had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign ſecure and happy; and however her enemies might ſeem to multiply upon her, the ſame invincible rampart was ſtill able to protect and defend her: That ſo long as the throne of France was filled by Henry or his poſterity, it was in vain to hope that the ties of blood would enſure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religion; and if ever the crown devolved on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burden, rather than a protection, to the latter kingdom: That the example of her ſiſter Mary was ſufficient to inſtruct her in the danger of ſuch connections; and to prove, that the affection and confidence of the Engliſh could never be maintained, where they had ſuch reaſon to apprehend that their intereſts would every moment be ſacrificed to thoſe of a foreign and hoſtile nation: That notwithſtanding theſe great inconveniencies, diſcovered by paſt experience, the houſe of Burgundy, it muſt be confeſſed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and, what was of chief moment, Philip was of the ſame communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of intereſt and affection: And that however the queen might remain childleſs, even though old age ſhould grow upon her, the ſingular felicity and glory of her reign would preſerve her from contempt; the affections of her ſubjects, and thoſe of all the proteſtants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without other aid or aſſiſtance, would baffle all the efforts of her moſt malignant enemies [m].

THESE reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irreſolution; and ſhe was obſerved to paſs ſeveral nights

[m] Letters of the Sydneys, vol. i. p. 287, & ſeq. Cabala, p. 363.

without

without any ſleep or repoſe. At laſt her ſettled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having ſent for the duke of Anjou, ſhe had a long conference with him in private, where ſhe was ſuppoſed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expreſſed great diſguſt on his leaving her; threw away the ring which ſhe had given him; and uttered many curſes on the mutability of women, and of iſlanders [n]. Soon after, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; loſt the confidence of the States by a raſh and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, ſaved herſelf from the numerous miſchiefs which muſt have attended ſo imprudent a marriage: And the diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that reſentment, which ſhe had reaſon to dread from the affront ſo wantonly put upon that royal family. 1582.

THE anxiety of the queen, from the attempts of the Engliſh catholics, never ceaſed during the whole courſe of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms, were the ſource ſometimes of her hopes, ſometimes of her apprehenſions. This year the affairs of Scotland ſtrongly engaged her attention. The influence which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now aſſumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a ſlender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles, and all the preachers, were ſo much diſcontented with their adminiſtration. The aſſembly of the church appointed a ſolemn faſt; of which one of the avowed reaſons was the danger to which the king was expoſed from the company of wicked perſons [o]: And on that day the pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt Lenox, Affairs of Scotland.

[n] Camden, p. 486. [o] Spotſwood, p. 319.

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1582. Arran, and all the preſent counſellors. When the minds of the people were ſufficiently prepared by theſe lectures, a conſpiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for ſeizing the perſon of

August 23. James at Ruthven, a ſeat of the earl of Gowry's; and the deſign, being kept ſecret, ſucceeded without any oppoſition. The leaders in this enterprize were, the earl of Gowry himſelf, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindeſey and Boyd, the maſters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paiſley, and Cambuſkenneth. The king wept when he found himſelf detained a priſoner; but the maſter of Glamis ſaid, "No matter for his tears: "Better that boys weep than bearded men:" An expreſſion which James could never afterwards forgive[p]. But notwithſtanding his reſentment, he found it neceſſary to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity. He pretended an entire acquieſcence in the conduct of the aſſociators; acknowledged the detention of his perſon to be acceptable ſervice; and agreed to ſummon both an aſſembly of the church and a convention of eſtates, in order to ratify that enterprize.

THE aſſembly, though they had eſtabliſhed it as an inviolable rule, that the king, on no account, and under no pretence, ſhould ever intermeddle in eccleſiaſtical matters, made no ſcruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occaſion, that the attempt of the conſpirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preſervation of the king's perſon, and proſperous ſtate of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend theſe ſentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with eccleſiaſtical cenſures every man who ſhould oppoſe the authority of the confederated lords[q]. The convention, being compoſed chiefly of theſe lords themſelves, added their ſanc-

[p] Spotſwood, p. 320. [q] Ibid. p. 322.

tion

tion to theſe proceedings. Arran was confined a priſoner in his own houſe: Lenox, though he had power to reſiſt, yet rather than raiſe a civil war, or be the cauſe of bloodſhed[r], choſe to retire into France, where he ſoon after died. He perſevered to the laſt in the proteſtant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottiſh clergy could never be perſuaded that he had ſincerely embraced. The king ſent for his family, reſtored his ſon to his paternal honours and eſtate, took care to eſtabliſh the fortunes of all his other children; and to his laſt moments never forgot the early friendſhip, which he had borne their father: A ſtrong proof of the good diſpoſitions of that prince[s]. CHAP. XLI. 1582.

No ſooner was this revolution known in England, than the queen ſent Sir Henry Cary and Sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counſels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to reſent the ſeeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permiſſion for the return of the earl of Angus, who, ever ſince Morton's fall, had lived in England. They eaſily prevailed in procuring the recal of Angus; and as James ſuſpected that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper, before the Engliſh ambaſſadors, to diſſemble his reſentment againſt the authors of it. Soon after, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, appeared as ambaſſadors from France: Their errand was to enquire concerning the ſituation of the king, make profeſſions of their maſter's friendſhip, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This laſt propoſal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the aſſembly voted the ſet- 1583.

[r] Heylin's Hiſt. Preſbyter. p. 227. Spotſwood, p. 328.

[s] Spotſwood,

tling

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1583.

tling of terms between the mother and ſon to be a moſt wicked undertaking. The pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the French ambaſſadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the meſſenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guiſe: And as that miniſter, being knight of the Holy Ghoſt, wore a white croſs on his ſhoulder, they commonly denominated it, in contempt, the badge of Antichriſt. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repreſs theſe inſolent reflections; but in order to make the ambaſſadors ſome compenſation, he deſired the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to give them a ſplendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a public faſt; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their ſermons in thundering curſes on the magiſtrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of reſpect on the ambaſſadors. They even purſued them afterwards with the cenſures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from iſſuing the ſentence of excommunication againſt them, on account of their ſubmiſſion to royal, preferably to clerical, authority[t].

Letter of Mary to Elizabeth.

WHAT encreaſed their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary, was, that the Engliſh ambaſſadors ſeemed to concur with the French in this propoſal; and the clergy were ſo ignorant as to believe the ſincerity of the profeſſions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, ſhe wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more ſpirited ſtrain than uſual; craving the aſſiſtance of that princeſs, both for her own and her ſon's liberty. She ſaid, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her moſt tender concern; and the experience, which ſhe

[t] Spotſwood, p. 324.

herſelf,

herſelf, during ſo many years, had of the extreme infeli- CHAP. XLI.
city attending that ſituation, had made her the more 1583.
apprehenſive leſt a like fate ſhould purſue her unhappy offspring: That the long train of injuſtice which ſhe had undergone, the calumnies to which ſhe had been expoſed, were ſo grievous, that, finding no place for right or truth among men, ſhe was reduced to make her laſt appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal juriſdiction, degree, and dignity: That after her rebellious ſubjects, ſecretly inſtigated by Elizabeth's miniſters, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in priſon, had purſued her with arms, ſhe had voluntarily thrown herſelf under the protection of England; fatally allured by thoſe reiterated profeſſions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generoſity of a friend, an ally, and a kinſwoman: That, not content with excluding her from her preſence, with ſupporting the uſurpers of her throne, with contributing to the deſtruction of her faithful ſubjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worſe captivity than that from which ſhe had eſcaped, and had made her this cruel return for the unlimited confidence which ſhe had repoſed in her: That though her reſentment of ſuch ſevere uſage had never carried her farther than to uſe ſome diſappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herſelf, and fatal to others, ſhe found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her; and at length carried to ſuch a height, that it ſurpaſſed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: That ſhe was cut off from all communication, not only with the reſt of mankind, but with her only ſon; and her maternal fondneſs, which was now more enlivened by their unhappy ſympathy in ſituation, and was her ſole remaining attachment to this world, deprived even of that melancholy ſolace which letters or meſſages

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1583. meſſages could give: That the bitterneſs of her ſorrows, ſtill more than her cloſe confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the inſufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all thoſe other calamities under which ſhe laboured: That while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable proſpect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and ſorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that laſt conſolation; and having ſecluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal exiſtence: That the exerciſe of her religion was refuſed her; the uſe of thoſe ſacred rites in which ſhe had been educated; the commerce with thoſe holy miniſters whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our tranſgreſſions, and to ſeal our penitence by a ſolemn re-admiſſion into heavenly favour and forgiveneſs: That it was in vain to complain of the rigours of perſecution exerciſed in other kingdoms, when a queen, and an innocent woman, was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the moſt barbarous countries, had been denied to the meaneſt and moſt obnoxious malefactor: That could ſhe ever be induced to deſcend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal, to which ſhe would appeal from all her enemies; to the juſtice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breaſt, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counſel, ſhe would naturally be induced to exerciſe towards her: And that ſhe finally entreated her to reſume her natural diſpoſition, and to reflect on the ſupport, as well as comfort, which ſhe might receive from her ſon and herſelf, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, ſhe would deign to raiſe them from their preſent melancholy ſituation,

ation, and reinſtate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled [u]. CHAP. XLI.

ELIZABETH was engaged to obſtruct Mary's reſtoration, chiefly becauſe ſhe foreſaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princeſs recovered any conſiderable ſhare of authority in Scotland, her reſentment, ambition, zeal, and connections both domeſtic and foreign, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after ſuppreſſing the proteſtant party among her ſubjects, to revive thoſe pretenſions which ſhe had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partizans in both kingdoms ſtill ſupported with great induſtry and aſſurance. If ſhe were reinſtated in power, with ſuch ſtrict limitations as could not be broken, ſhe might be diſguſted with her ſituation; and, flying abroad, form more deſperate attempts than any ſovereign, who had a crown to hazard, would willingly undertake. Mary herſelf, ſenſible of theſe difficulties, and convinced by experience that Elizabeth would for ever debar her the throne, was now become more humble in her wiſhes; and as age and infirmities had repreſſed thoſe ſentiments of ambition by which ſhe had formerly been ſo much actuated, ſhe was willing to ſacrifice all her hopes of grandeur, in order to obtain a little liberty; a bleſſing to which ſhe naturally aſpired with the fondeſt impatience. She propoſed, therefore, that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the adminiſtration ſhould remain ſolely in him: And ſhe was content to live in England, in a private ſtation, and even under a kind of reſtraint; but with ſome more liberty, both for exerciſe and company, than ſhe had enjoyed, ſince the firſt diſcovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid leſt ſuch a looſe method of guarding her would 1583.

[u] Camden, p. 489.

facilitate

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1583. facilitate her eſcape into France or Spain, or, at leaſt, would encourage and encreaſe her partizans, and enable her to conduct thoſe intrigues, to which ſhe had already diſcovered ſo ſtrong a propenſity, was ſecretly determined to deny her requeſts; and though ſhe feigned to aſſent to them, ſhe well knew how to diſappoint the expectations of the unhappy princeſs. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, ſhe never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottiſh queen [w]: At preſent, when her own creatures had acquired poſſeſſion of the government, ſhe was reſolved to throw the odium of refuſal upon them; and pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation, than the concurrence of the council of ſtate in Scotland, ſhe ordered her ambaſſador, Bowes, to open the negociation for Mary's liberty, and her aſſociation with her ſon in the title to the crown. Though ſhe ſeemed to make this conceſſion to Mary, ſhe refuſed her the liberty of ſending any ambaſſador of her own; and that princeſs could eaſily conjecture, from this circumſtance, what would be the reſult of the pretended negociation. The privy council of Scotland, inſtigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed, that he had never agreed to an aſſociation with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than ſome looſe propoſals for that purpoſe [x].

THE affairs of Scotland remained not long in the preſent ſituation. James, impatient of reſtraint, made his eſcape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrews, ſummoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Montroſe, and Rothes, haſtened to pay their duty to their ſovereign; and the oppoſite party found themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo power-

[w] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 540. [x] MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 28. p. 401. from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9.

ful

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ful a combination. They were offered a pardon, upon their ſubmiſſion, and an acknowledgment of their fault, in ſeizing the king's perſon, and reſtraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: The greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country, and took ſhelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that, by their reſiſtance, they had thrown all power into the hands of a perſon whoſe counſels were as violent as his manners were profligate [y].

ELIZABETH wrote a letter to James; in which ſhe quoted a moral ſentence from Iſocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconſtancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, juſtified his meaſures; and retaliated, by turning two paſſages of Iſocrates againſt *her* [z]. She next ſent Walſingham in an embaſſy to him; and her chief purpoſe in employing that aged miniſter in an errand where ſo little buſineſs was to be tranſacted, was to learn, from a man of ſo much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince poſſeſſed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and induſtry which his ſtation required; and as he excelled in general diſcourſe and converſation, Walſingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real buſineſs was tranſacted, to have fully merited [a]. The account which he gave his miſtreſs induced her to treat James thenceforth with ſome more regard than ſhe had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

[y] Spotſwood, p. 325, 326, & ſeq. Strype, vol. iii. p. 165.

[z] Melvil, p. 140, 141.

[a] Melvil, p. 148. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 530.

THE

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1584. THE king of Scots, perſevering in his preſent views, ſummoned a parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergyman ſhould preſume, in his ſermons, to utter falſe, untrue, or ſcandalous ſpeeches againſt the king, the council, or the public meaſures, or to meddle, in an improper manner, with the affairs of his majeſty and the ſtates [b]. The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a ſanctuary for them, were extremely offended: They ſaid, that the king was become popiſh in his heart; and they gave their adverſaries the epithets of groſs libertines, belly gods, and infamous perſons [c]. The violent conduct of Arran ſoon brought over the popularity to their ſide. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to priſon, was tried on ſome new accuſations, condemned, and executed. Many innocent perſons ſuffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the baniſhed lords, being aſſiſted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their eſtates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and being admitted to the king's preſence, were pardoned, and reſtored to his favour.

ARRAN was degraded from authority; deprived of that eſtate and title which he had uſurped; and the whole country ſeemed to be compoſed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after oppoſing, during ſome time, the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient, before his fall, to compound all differences with him, by means of Daviſon, a miniſter whom ſhe ſent to Scotland: But having more confidence in the lords, whom ſhe had helped to reſtore, ſhe was pleaſed with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correſpondence with the new court and miniſtry of James.

[b] Spotſwood, p. 333. [c] Ibid. p. 334.

THESE

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1584. Conſpiracies in England.

THESE revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of ſmall importance to the repoſe and ſecurity of Elizabeth, had her own ſubjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the catholics, excited by conſtraint more properly than perſecution, daily threatened her with ſome dangerous inſurrection. The vigilance of the miniſters, particularly of Burleigh and Walſingham, was raiſed in proportion to the activity of the malcontents; and many arts, which had been blameable in a more peaceful government, were employed in detecting conſpiracies, and even diſcovering the ſecret inclinations of men. Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the queen of Scots, or of the Engliſh exiles, and privately conveyed to the houſes of the catholics: Spies were hired to obſerve the actions and diſcourſe of ſuſpected perſons: Informers were countenanced: And though the ſagacity of theſe two great miniſters helped them to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the ſubjects, particularly the catholics, kept in the utmoſt anxiety and inquietude. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under ſuſpicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own houſe. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentlemen, was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treaſonable deſigns, immediately withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton confeſſed, that a plan for an invaſion and inſurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was deſirous of retracting this confeſſion, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty and executed. Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, having promoted this

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1584. conſpiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was ſent into Spain, to excuſe his diſmiſſion, and to deſire the king to ſend another ambaſſador in his place: But Philip would not ſo much as admit the Engliſh ambaſſador to his preſence. Creighton, a Scottiſh jeſuit, coming over on board a veſſel which was ſeized, tore ſome papers, with an intention of throwing them into the ſea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ſhip, they were pieced together, and diſcovered ſome dangerous ſecrets [d].

MANY of theſe conſpiracies were, with great appearance of reaſon, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots [e]; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought, that they could not uſe too many precautions againſt the danger of her claims, and the reſtleſs activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewſbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that truſt, had alſo been indulgent to his priſoner, particularly with regard to air and exerciſe: And ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An aſſociation was alſo ſet on foot by the earl of Leiceſter and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the ſubſcription of it. The purport of this aſſociation was to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed againſt her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title ſoever they might poſſeſs, by whoſe ſuggeſtion, or for whoſe behoof, any violence ſhould be offered to her majeſty [f]. The queen of Scots was ſenſible, that this aſſociation was

[d] Camden, p. 499. [e] Strype, vol. iii. p. 246.
[f] State Trials, vol. i. p. 122, 123.

levelled

levelled againſt her; and to remove all ſuſpicion from herſelf, ſhe alſo deſired leave to ſubſcribe it. CHAP. XLI.

ELIZABETH, that ſhe might the more diſcourage malcontents, by ſhewing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, ſummoned a new parliament; and ſhe met with that dutiful attachment which ſhe expected. The aſſociation was confirmed by parliament; and a clauſe was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commiſſioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who ſhould attempt or imagine any invaſion, inſurrection, or aſſaſſination againſt her: Upon condemnation, pronounced by theſe commiſſioners, the guilty perſon was excluded from all claim to the ſucceſſion, and was farther puniſhable, as her majeſty ſhould direct. And for greater ſecurity, a council of regency, in caſe of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to ſettle the ſucceſſion, and to take vengeance for that act of treaſon [g]. 1584. 23d Nov. A parliament.

A SEVERE law was alſo enacted againſt jeſuits and popiſh prieſts: It was ordained, that they ſhould depart the kingdom within forty days; that thoſe who ſhould remain beyond that time, or ſhould afterwards return, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; that thoſe who harboured or relieved them ſhould be guilty of felony; that thoſe who were educated in ſeminaries, if they returned not in ſix months after notice given, and ſubmitted not themſelves to the queen, before a biſhop or two juſtices, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; and that if any, ſo ſubmitting themſelves, ſhould, within ten years, approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their ſubmiſſion ſhould be void [h]. By this law, the exerciſe of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was, in many inſtances, connived at, was totally ſuppreſſed. In the ſubſequent part of the

[g] 27 Eliz. cap. 1. [h] Ibid. cap. 2.

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1584. queen's reign, the law was ſometimes executed, by the capital puniſhment of prieſts; and though the partizans of that princeſs aſſerted, that they were puniſhed for their treaſon, not their religion, the apology muſt only be underſtood in this ſenſe, that the law was enacted on account of the treaſonable views and attempts of the ſect, not that every individual, who ſuffered the penalty of the law, was convicted of treaſon [i]. The catholics, therefore, might now with juſtice complain of a violent perſecution; which, we may ſafely affirm, in ſpite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the beſt method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the eſtabliſhed government and religion.

THE parliament, beſides arming the queen with theſe powers, granted her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. The only circumſtance, in which their proceedings were diſagreeable to her, was an application, made by the commons, for a farther reformation in eccleſiaſtical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her, as well as them, in a delicate point, they diſcovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the houſe were puritans, or inclined to that ſect [k]; but the ſevere reprimands which they had already, in former ſeſſions, met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative: They

[i] Some even of thoſe who defend the queen's meaſures, allow that in ten years fifty prieſts were executed, and fifty five baniſhed. Camden, p. 649.

[k] Beſides the petition after mentioned, another proof of the prevalency of the puritans among the commons was their paſſing a bill for the reverent obſervance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the depriving the people of thoſe amuſements, which they were accuſtomed to take on that day. D'Ewes, p. 335. It was a ſtrong ſymptom of a contrary ſpirit in the upper houſe, that they propoſed to add Wedneſday to the faſt days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of fleſh on that day. D'Ewes, p. 373.

were

were content to proceed by way of humble petition, and that not addreſſed to her majeſty, which would have given offence, but to the houſe of lords, or rather the biſhops, who had a ſeat in that houſe, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation[1]: A ſtrange departure from what we now apprehend to be the dignity of the commons!

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THE commons deſired in their humble petition, that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe his function of ordination but with the conſent and concurrence of ſix preſbyters: But this demand, as it really introduced a change of eccleſiaſtical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They deſired, that no clergyman ſhould be inſtituted into any benefice, without previous notice being given to the pariſh, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: An attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the ſame fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed, that the biſhops ſhould not inſiſt upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the ſervice: As if uniformity in public worſhip had not been eſtabliſhed by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a diſpenſing power. They complained of abuſes, which prevailed, in pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of ſome law for the remedy of theſe abuſes: Implying, that thoſe matters were too high for the commons of themſelves to attempt.

BUT the moſt material article, which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a ſubject of ſuch importance as to merit ſome explanation.

[1] D'Ewes, p. 357.

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1584. The eccleſiaſtical court.

THE firſt primate after the queen's acceſſion, was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, and in puniſhing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen, who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was ſucceeded by Grindal, who, as he himſelf was inclined to the new ſect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws againſt them, or to puniſh the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the ſuppreſſion of *propheſyings*, or the aſſemblies of the zealots in private houſes, which, ſhe apprehended, had become ſo many academies of fanaticiſm; and for this offence, ſhe had, by an order of the Star Chamber, ſequeſtered him from his archiepiſcopal function, and confined him to his own houſe. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, ſhe determined not to fall into the ſame error in her next choice; and ſhe named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already ſignalized his pen in controverſy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritants by argument, was now reſolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal ſtatutes. He informed the queen, that all the ſpiritual authority, lodged in the prelates, was inſignificant without the ſanction of the crown; and as there was no eccleſiaſtical commiſſion at that time in force, he engaged her to iſſue a new one; more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority [m]. She appointed forty-four commiſſioners, twelve of whom were eccleſiaſtics; three commiſſioners made a quorum; the juriſdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumſtance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the cleareſt principles of law and natural equity. The commiſſioners were empowered to

[m] Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 410.

viſit

viſit and reform all errors, hereſies, ſchiſms, in a word to regulate all opinions, as well as to puniſh all breach of uniformity in the exerciſe of public worſhip. They were directed to make enquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witneſſes, but by all other means and ways, which they could deviſe; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquiſition, by impriſonment. Where they found reaſon to ſuſpect any perſon, they might adminiſter to him an oath, called *ex Officio*, by which he was bound to anſwer all queſtions, and might thereby be obliged to accuſe himſelf or his moſt intimate friend. The fines, which they levied, were diſcretionary, and often occaſioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom. The impriſonment, to which they condemned any delinquent, was limited by no rule but their own pleaſure. They aſſumed a power of impoſing on the clergy what new articles of ſubſcription, and conſequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other ſpiritual courts were ſubject, ſince the reformation, to inhibitions from the ſupreme courts of law, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were exempted from that legal juriſdiction, and were liable to no controul. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to puniſh all inceſts, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, miſbehaviours, and diſorders in marriage: And the puniſhments, which they might inflict, were according to their wiſdom, conſcience, and diſcretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquiſition*; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inſeparable from that tribunal. And as the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical court was deſtructive of all law, ſo its erection was deemed by many a mere uſurpation of this imperious princeſs; and had no other foundation than a clauſe of a ſtatute, reſtoring the ſupremacy to the crown, and empowering the ſovereign

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to appoint commiſſioners for exerciſing that prerogative. But prerogative in general, eſpecially the ſupremacy, was ſuppoſed in that age to involve powers, which no law, precedent, or reaſon could limit and determine.

But though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched ſo gently and ſubmiſſively on the eccleſiaſtical grievances, the queen, in a ſpeech from the throne at the end of the ſeſſion, could not forbear taking notice of their preſumption, and reproving them for thoſe murmurs, which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced ſo low as not directly to reach her royal ears. After giving them ſome general thanks for their attachment to her, and making profeſſions of affection to her ſubjects, ſhe told them, that whoever found fault with the church threw a ſlander upon her, ſince ſhe was appointed *by God* ſupreme ruler over it, and no hereſies or ſchiſms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permiſſion and negligence: That ſome abuſes muſt neceſſarily have place in every thing; but ſhe warned the prelates to be watchful; for if ſhe found them careleſs of their charge, ſhe was fully determined to depoſe them: That ſhe was commonly ſuppoſed to have employed herſelf in many ſtudies, particularly philoſophical (by which, I ſuppoſe, ſhe meant theological), and ſhe would confeſs, that few, whoſe leiſure had not allowed them to make profeſſion of ſcience, had read or reflected more: That as ſhe could diſcern the preſumption of many, in curiouſly canvaſſing the ſcriptures, and ſtarting innovations, ſhe would no longer endure this licentiouſneſs; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the juſt mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern ſectaries: And that as the Romaniſts were the inveterate enemies of her perſon, ſo the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and, under

under colour of preaching the word of God, preſumed to exerciſe their private judgment, and to cenſure the actions of the prince [n]. CHAP. XLI. 1584.

FROM the whole of this tranſaction we may obſerve, that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in ſome particular articles of their petition, ſhowed themſelves wholly ignorant, no leſs than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal conſtitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, ſo far from yielding to the diſpleaſure of the parliament againſt the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commiſſion; in which ſhe enlarged, rather than reſtrained, the powers of the commiſſioners [o].

DURING this ſeſſion of parliament, there was diſcovered a conſpiracy, which much increaſed the general animoſity againſt the catholics, and ſtill farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was expoſed to capital puniſhment; and, having obtained permiſſion to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profeſſion of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here perſuaded by Palmio, a jeſuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his ſovereign and his benefactreſs; the nuncio, Campeggio, when conſulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though ſtill agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of paſſing over to England, and executing his bloody purpoſe. He was here encouraged in the deſign by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and though Watts and ſome other catholic prieſts

[n] See note [R] at the end of the volume. p. 292. 386. 400.

[o] Rymer, vol. xvi.

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told him, that the enterprize was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to perſiſt in his reſolution. He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his abſolution and paternal benediction. He received an anſwer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpoſe was extremely applauded; and he came over to England with a full deſign of carrying it into execution. So deeply are the ſentiments of morality engraved in the human breaſt, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of falſe religion totally to efface them; and this bigoted aſſaſſin reſolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the perſecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; aſſured her that many conſpiracies were formed againſt her; and exhorted her, as ſhe tendered her life, to give the Romaniſts ſome more indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion: But, leſt he ſhould be tempted by the opportunity to aſſaſſinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offenſive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament; and, having made a vehement harangue againſt the ſevere laws enacted this laſt ſeſſion, was committed to cuſtody for his freedom, and ſequeſtered from the houſe. His failure in theſe attempts confirmed him the more in his former reſolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealouſly into the deſign, and was determined to have a ſhare in the merits of its execution. A book, newly publiſhed by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, ſerved farther to efface all their ſcruples with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and, having agreed to ſhoot the queen while ſhe ſhould be taking the air on horſeback, they reſolved, if they

they could not make their eſcape, to ſacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty, ſo agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpoſe, the earl of Weſtmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing ſome acceptable ſervice to the queen, he might recover the eſtate and honours, which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the laſt earl. He betrayed the whole conſpiracy to the miniſters; and Parry, being thrown into priſon, confeſſed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all queſtion; and that criminal, having received ſentence of death [p], ſuffered the puniſhment which the law appointed for his treaſonable conſpiracy [q].

THESE bloody deſigns now appeared every where, as the reſult of that bigoted ſpirit by which the two religions, eſpecially the catholic, were at this time actuated. Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwic, ſomewhat diſordered in his underſtanding, had heard ſo much of the merit attending the aſſaſſination of heretics and perſecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his deſign by ſome extravagances, he was thrown into priſon, and there periſhed by a voluntary death [r]. About the ſame time, Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the ſame deſign againſt the prince of Orange; and that great man periſhed at Delft, by the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, who, with a reſolution worthy of a better cauſe, ſacrificed his own life, in order to deſtroy the famous reſtorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings,

The affairs of the Low Countries.

[p] State Trials, vol. i. p. 103, & ſeq. Strype, vol. iii. p. 255, & ſeq.
[q] See note [S] at the end of the volume. Camden, p. 495.

who

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1584. who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great ſorrow, as well when they conſidered the miſerable end of ſo brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition, from the loſs of ſo powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progreſs of the Spaniſh arms. The prince of Parma had made every year great advances upon them, had reduced ſeveral of the provinces to obedience, and had laid cloſe ſiege to Antwerp, the richeſt and moſt populous city of the Netherlands, whoſe ſubjection, it was foreſeen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes which remained to them, aroſe from the proſpect of foreign ſuccour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better ſucceſs in France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the ſovereignty of their

1585. provinces. But the preſent condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject ſo advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which, he thought, would have tended to reſtore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepeſt diſtreſs; and the king of Navarre, a profeſſed hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guiſe took thence occaſion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the moſt violent expedients, to ſeek the excluſion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himſelf though a zealous catholic, yet, becauſe he declined complying with their precipitate meaſures, became an object of averſion to the league; and as his zeal, in practiſing all the ſuperſtitious obſervances of the Romiſh church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life, the catholic faction, in contradiction to univerſal experience, embraced thence the pretext of repreſenting his devotion as mere deceit and hypocriſy. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war againſt the hugonots, and to put arms into the hands

of

of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretenſions at home, and their cloſe alliance with Philip, he ſecretly regarded as his more dangerous enemies. Conſtrained by the ſame policy, he dreaded the danger of aſſociating himſelf with the revolted proteſtants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himſelf for all the hoſtile intrigues and enterprizes of Philip. 1585.

THE States, reduced to this extremity, ſent over a ſolemn embaſſy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their ſovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and aſſiſtance. Elizabeth's wiſeſt counſellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct which ſhe ſhould hold in this critical and important emergence. Some adviſed her to reject the offer of the States, and repreſented the imminent dangers, as well as injuſtice, attending the acceptance of it. They ſaid, that the ſuppreſſion of rebellious ſubjects was the common cauſe of all ſovereigns, and any encouragement, given to the revolt of the Flemings, might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the Engliſh: That though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppreſs their ſubjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their ſovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or diſguſt, or even from the juſteſt ground of complaint, their obedience to any other maſter: That the queen, in the ſuccours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had conſidered them as labouring under oppreſſion, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admoniſh Philip not to perſevere in his tyranny, without any view of raviſhing from him theſe provinces, which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his anceſtors: That her ſituation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch ſufficient opportunity of retaliating upon

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upon her; and ſhe muſt thenceforth expect, that, inſtead of ſecretely fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the catholics: That the pope would undoubtedly unite his ſpiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: And that the queen would ſoon repent her making ſo precarious an acquiſition in foreign countries, by expoſing her own dominions to the moſt imminent danger[s].

OTHER counſellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They aſſerted that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at preſent, the choice whether ſhe would embrace friendſhip or hoſtility with Philip: That by the whole tenor of that prince's conduct it appeared, that his ſole aims were, the extending of his empire, and the entire ſubjection of the proteſtants, under the ſpecious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith: That the provocations which ſhe had already given him, joined to his general ſcheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and as ſoon as he had ſubdued his revolted ſubjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceleſs ſtate: That the only queſtion was, whether ſhe would maintain a war abroad, and ſupported by allies, or wait till the ſubjection of all the confederates of England ſhould give her enemies leiſure to begin their hoſtilities in the bowels of the kingdom: That the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, poſſeſſed ſtill conſiderable force; and by the aſſiſtance of England, by the advantages of their ſituation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might ſtill be enabled to maintain the conteſt againſt the Spaniſh monarchy: That their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire ſecurity on the ſide from which alone ſhe could

[s] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

be aſſaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: That a war which was neceſſary could never be unjuſt; and ſelf-defence was concerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a diſtance, as in repelling any immediate invaſion: And that, ſince hoſtility with Spain was the unavoidable conſequence of the preſent intereſts and ſituations of the two monarchies, it were better to compenſate that danger and loſs by the acquiſition of ſuch important provinces to the Engliſh empire [t].

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AMIDST theſe oppoſite counſels, the queen, apprehenſive of the conſequences attending each extreme, was inclined to ſteer a middle courſe; and though ſuch conduct is ſeldom prudent, ſhe was not, in this reſolution, guided by any prejudice or miſtaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without oppoſition, the total ſubjection of the revolted provinces, whoſe intereſts ſhe deemed ſo cloſely connected with her own: But foreſeeing that the acceptance of their ſovereignity would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expoſe her to the reproach of ambition and uſurpation, imputations which hitherto ſhe had carefully avoided, ſhe immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: That ſhe ſhould ſend over an army to their aſſiſtance, of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others, whom ſhe ſhould appoint, ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; that her expences ſhould be refunded after the concluſion of the war; and that the towns of Fluſhing and the Brille, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould,

[t] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

in

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in the mean time, be conſigned into her hands, by way of ſecurity.

1585. THE queen knew that this meaſure would immediately engage her in open hoſtilities with Philip; yet was not ſhe terrified with the view of the preſent greatneſs of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, beſides ſecuring internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him maſter of many ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, and of the whole commerce of thoſe regions, and had much encreaſed his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of ſubjection under him, and ſeemed to poſſeſs their ſovereignity on terms ſomewhat precarious. The Auſtrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was cloſely connected with him, and was ready to ſupply him with troops for every enterprize. All the treaſures of the Weſt-Indies were in his poſſeſſion; and the preſent ſcarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe, rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extenſive. The Netherlands ſeemed on the point of relapſing into ſervitude; and ſmall hopes were entertained of their withſtanding thoſe numerous and veteran armies, which, under the command of the moſt experienced generals, he employed againſt them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Auſtrian greatneſs, had loſt all her force from inteſtine commotions; and as the catholics, the ruling party, were cloſely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, ſuch prepoſſeſſions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spaniſh monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly

openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, ſcrupled not to ſay, that ſhe had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war [u]. Yet was this princeſs rather cautious than enterpriſing in her natural temper: She never needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than reſtrained by the prudence of her miniſters: But when ſhe ſaw an evident neceſſity, ſhe braved danger with magnanimous courage; and truſting to her own conſummate wiſdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, ſhe prepared herſelf to reſiſt, and even to aſſault, the whole force of the catholic monarch. CHAP. XLI. 1585.

THE earl of Leiceſter was ſent over to Holland, at the head of the Engliſh auxiliary forces. He carried with him a ſplendid retinue; being accompanied by the young earl of Eſſex, his ſon-in-law, the lords Audley and North, Sir William Ruſſel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Baſſet, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervaſe Clifton, and a ſelect troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received, on his arrival at Fluſhing, by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town, through which he paſſed, expreſſed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his preſence and the queen's protection had brought them the moſt certain deliverance. The States, deſirous of engaging Elizabeth ſtill farther in their defence, and knowing the intereſt which Leiceſter poſſeſſed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him, in ſome reſpects, as their ſovereign. But this ſtep had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was diſpleaſed with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leiceſter. She ſeverely reprimanded both; and

[u] Camden, p. 508.

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it was with ſome difficulty, that, after many humble ſubmiſſions, they were able to appeaſe her.

1585. Hoſtilities with Spain.

AMERICA was regarded as the chief ſource of Philip's power, as well as the moſt defenceleſs part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, reſolved not to leave him unmoleſted in that quarter. The great ſucceſs of the Spaniards and Portugueſe in both Indies had excited a ſpirit of emulation in England; and as the progreſs of commerce, ſtill more that of colonies, is ſlow and gradual, it was happy, that a war, in this critical period, had opened a more flattering proſpect to the avarice and ambition of the Engliſh, and had tempted them, by the view of ſudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprizes. A fleet of twenty ſail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies: Two thouſand three hundred volunteers, beſides ſeamen, engaged on board of it; Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Chriſtopher Carliſle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by ſurpriſe; and found in it plenty of proviſions, but no riches. They ſailed to Hiſpaniola; and eaſily making themſelves maſter of St. Domingo by aſſault, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom their houſes by a ſum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after ſome more reſiſtance, and was treated in the ſame manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coaſt of Florida. Sailing along the coaſt of Virginia, they found the ſmall remains of a colony which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the firſt attempt of the Engliſh to form ſuch ſettlements; and though they have ſince ſurpaſſed all European nations, both in the ſituation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and induſtry, on which they are founded; they had here been ſo unſuc-

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teſsful, that the miſerable planters abandoned their ſettlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with ſo much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with ſuch accounts of the Spaniſh weakneſs in thoſe countries, as ſerved extremely to inflame the ſpirits of the nation to future enterprizes. The great mortality, which the climate had produced in his fleet, was, as is uſual, but a feeble reſtraint on the avidity and ſanguine hopes of young adventurers[w]. It is thought that Drake's fleet firſt introduced the uſe of tobacco into England.

THE enterprizes of Leiceſter were much leſs ſucceſsful than thoſe of Drake. This man poſſeſſed neither courage nor capacity equal to the truſt repoſed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice ſhe made for any conſiderable employment, men naturally believed, that ſhe had here been influenced by an affection ſtill more partial than that of friendſhip. He gained at firſt ſome advantage in an action againſt the Spaniards; and threw ſuccours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence: But the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all theſe efforts uſeleſs. He capitulated after a feeble reſiſtance; and being tried for his conduct, ſuffered a capital puniſhment from the ſentence of a court-martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the ſiege of Venlo, which was ſurrendered to him after ſome reſiſtance. The fate of Nuys was more diſmal; being taken by aſſault, while the garriſon was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garriſoned by twelve hundred Engliſh, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards beſieged by the Spaniards; and Leiceſter, thinking himſelf too weak to attempt raiſing the ſiege, endeavoured to

[w] Camden, p. 509.

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draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterprize. He firſt attacked Doeſberg, and ſucceeded: He then ſat down before Zutphen, which the Spaniſh general thought ſo important a fortreſs, that he haſtened to its relief. He made the marqueſs of Gueſto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of Engliſh cavalry, a furious action enſued, in which the Spaniards were worſted, and the marqueſs of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was ſlain. The purſuit was ſtopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spaniſh army; and the Engliſh cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compenſated by the loſs of Sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the ſoldiers, and ſoon after died. This perſon is deſcribed by the writers of that age as the moſt perfect model of an accompliſhed gentleman, that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite converſation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the Engliſh court; and as the credit, which he poſſeſſed with the queen and the earl of Leiceſter, was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praiſes have been tranſmitted with advantage to poſterity. No perſon was ſo low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this laſt action, while he was lying on the field, mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirſt; but obſerving a ſoldier near him in a like miſerable condition, he ſaid, *This man's neceſſity is ſtill greater than mine:* And reſigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, ſtruck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verſes,

verſes, which he compoſed on the death of that young hero. CHAP. XLI.

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THE Engliſh, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were ſtrongly poſſeſſed of military genius; and the advantages gained by the prince of Parma, were not attributed to the ſuperior bravery and diſcipline of the Spaniards, but ſolely to the want of military abilities in Leiceſter. The States were much diſcontented with his management of the war; ſtill more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign, they applied to him for a redreſs of all their grievances. But Leiceſter, without giving them any ſatisfaction, departed ſoon after for England [x].

THE queen, while ſhe provoked ſo powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to ſecure herſelf on the ſide of Scotland; and ſhe endeavoured both to cultivate the friendſhip and alliance of her kinſman, James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt, which ſhe had made ſome time before, was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had diſpatched Wotton as her ambaſſador to Scotland; but though ſhe gave him private inſtructions with regard to her affairs, ſhe informed James, that, when ſhe had any political buſineſs to diſcuſs with him, ſhe would employ another miniſter; that this man was not fitted for ſerious negociations; and that her chief purpoſe in ſending him, was to entertain the king with witty and facetious converſation, and to partake without reſerve of his pleaſures and amuſements. Wotton was maſter of profound diſſimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careleſs gaiety, the deepeſt deſigns, and moſt dangerous artifices. When but a youth

[x] Camden, p. 512, Bentivoglio, part 2, lib. 4.

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of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambaſſador in France during the reign of Mary, to enſnare the conſtable, Montmorency; and had not his purpoſe been fruſtrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged miniſter. It is no wonder that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he ſhould gain an aſcendant over a young prince, of ſo open and unguarded a temper as James; eſpecially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleaſures of the king; made himſelf maſter of his ſecrets; and had ſo much the more authority with him in political tranſactions, as he did not ſeem to pay the leaſt attention to theſe matters. The Scottiſh miniſters, who obſerved the growing intereſt of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendſhip; and ſcrupled not to ſacrifice to his intrigues the moſt eſſential intereſts of their maſter. Elizabeth's uſual jealouſies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled againſt James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, ſhe was apprehenſive, leſt, by being ſtrengthened with children and alliances, he ſhould acquire the greater intereſt and authority with her Engliſh ſubjects. She directed Wotton to form a ſecret concert with ſome Scottiſh noblemen, and to procure their promiſe that James, during three years, ſhould not, on any account, be permitted to marry. In conſequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland, on pretence of demanding reſtitution of the Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a propoſal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is ſaid to have employed his intrigues to purpoſes ſtill more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conſpiracy with ſome malcontents, to ſeize the perſon of the king, and to deliver him

him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the deſign, but would have been ſure to retain him in perpetual thraldom, if not captivity. The conſpiracy was detected, and Wotton fled haſtily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king [y]. CHAP. XLI. 1586.

JAMES's ſituation obliged him to diſſemble his reſentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him ſoon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negociations for a ſtrict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendſhip, ſhe granted him a penſion, equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the counteſs of Lenox, lately deceaſed [z]. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was ſtipulated, that, if Elizabeth were invaded, James ſhould aid her with a body of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like caſe, ſhould ſend to his aſſiſtance three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot; that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the prince who demanded aſſiſtance; that, if the invaſion ſhould be made upon England, within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom ſhould march its whole force to the aſſiſtance of the former; and that the preſent league ſhould ſuperſede all former alliances of either ſtate with any foreign kingdom, ſo far as religion was concerned [a].

BY this league James ſecured himſelf againſt all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the con-

y Melvil. z Spotſwood, p. 351. a Ibid. p. 349. Camden, p. 523. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 803.

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fidence and affections of the Engliſh, and might entertain ſome proſpect of domeſtic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Beſides the turbulent diſpoſition, and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottiſh government, the ſpirit of fanaticiſm had introduced a new diſorder; ſo much the more dangerous, as religion, when corrupted by falſe opinion, is not reſtrained by any rules of morality, and is even ſcarcely to be accounted for in its operations, by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The inſolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had, at this time, reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance ſo far, not only againſt the king, but againſt the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, becauſe he had been active in parliament for promoting a law which reſtrained their ſeditious ſermons [b]: Nor could that prelate ſave himſelf by any expedient from this terrible ſentence, but by renouncing all pretenſions to eccleſiaſtical authority. One Gibſon ſaid in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart (meaning the late earl of Arran) and his wife, Jezabel, had been deemed the chief perſecutors of the church; but it was now ſeen, that the king himſelf was the great offender: And for this crime the preacher denounced againſt him the curſe which fell on Jeroboam, that he ſhould die childleſs, and be the laſt of his race [c].

The ſecretary, Thirlſtone, perceiving the king ſo much moleſted with eccleſiaſtical affairs, and with the refractory diſpoſition of the clergy, adviſed him to leave them to their own courſes: For that in a ſhort time they would become ſo intolerable, that the people would riſe againſt

[b] Spotſwood, p. 345, 346. [c] Ibid. p. 314.

them,

them, and drive them out of the country. "True," replied the king: "If I purpoſed to undo the church and "religion, your counſel were good: But my intention "is to maintain both; therefore cannot I ſuffer the "clergy to follow ſuch a conduct, as will in the end "bring religion into contempt and deriſion[d]."

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[d] Spotſwood, p. 348.

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Zeal of the catholics——Babington's conſpiracy——Mary aſſents to the conſpiracy——The conſpirators ſeized and executed——Reſolution to try the queen of Scots——The commiſſioners prevail on her to ſubmit to the trial——The trial——Sentence againſt Mary——Interpoſition of king James——Reaſons for the execution of Mary——The execution——Mary's character——The queen's affected ſorrow——Drake deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz——Philip projects the invaſion of England——The invincible armada——Preparations in England——The armada arrives in the channel——Defeated——A parliament——Expedition againſt Portugal——Affairs of Scotland.

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THE dangers which aroſe from the character, principles, and pretenſions of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to conſult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princeſs, the dictates of jealouſy and politics, rather than of friendſhip or generoſity: Reſentment of this uſage had puſhed Mary into enterprizes which had nearly threatened the repoſe and authority of Elizabeth: The rigour and reſtraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen [e], ſtill impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her impatience of confinement, her revenge [f], and her high ſpirit, concurred with

[e] Digges, p. 139. Haynes, p. 607.

[f] See note [T] at the end of the volume.

religious

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religious zeal, and the ſuggeſtions of deſperate bigots, ſhe was at laſt engaged in deſigns which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reaſon for effecting her final ruin.

Zeal of the catholics.

THE Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims had wrought themſelves up to a high pitch of rage and animoſity againſt the queen. The recent perſecutions from which they had eſcaped; the new rigours which, they knew, awaited them in the courſe of their miſſions; the liberty, which for the preſent they enjoyed, of declaiming againſt that princeſs; and the contagion of that religious fury which every where ſurrounded them in France: All theſe cauſes had obliterated with them every maxim of common ſenſe, and every principle of morals or humanity. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and depoſed the queen; and ſome of them had gone to that height of extravagance, as to aſſert, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghoſt. The aſſaſſination of heretical ſovereigns, and of that princeſs in particular, was repreſented as the moſt meritorious of all enterprizes; and they taught, that whoever periſhed in ſuch pious attempts, enjoyed, without diſpute, the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By ſuch doctrines, they inſtigated John Savage, a man of deſperate courage, who had ſerved ſome years in the Low Countries, under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this aſſaſſin, having made a vow to perſevere in his deſign, was ſent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics.

ABOUT the ſame time, John Ballard, a prieſt of that ſeminary, had returned to Paris from his miſſion in England and Scotland; and as he had obſerved a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the catholic

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tholic devotees in theſe countries, he had founded, on that diſpoſition, the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of reſtoring, by force of arms, the exerciſe of the ancient religion [g]. The ſituation of affairs abroad ſeemed favourable to this enterprize: The pope, the Spaniard, the duke of Guiſe, concurring in intereſts, had formed a reſolution to make ſome attempt againſt England: And Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, ſtrongly encouraged Ballard to hope for ſuccours from theſe princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous catholic, and a devoted partizan of the queen of Scots, being well acquainted with the prudence, vigour, and general popularity of Elizabeth, always maintained, that, ſo long as that princeſs was allowed to live, it was in vain to expect any ſucceſs from an enterprize upon England. Ballard, perſuaded of this truth, ſaw more clearly the neceſſity of executing the deſign formed at Rheims: He came over to England in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, and aſſumed the name of captain Forteſcue: And he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an aſſaſſination, an inſurrection, and an invaſion [h].

Babington's conſpiracy.

THE firſt perſon to whom he addreſſed himſelf was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of a good family, poſſeſſed a plentiful fortune, had diſcovered an excellent capacity, and was accompliſhed in literature beyond moſt of his years or ſtation. Being zealouſly devoted to the catholic communion, he had ſecretly made a journey to Paris ſome time before; and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigoted fugitive from England, and with the biſhop of Glaſgow, Mary's ambaſſador at the court of France. By continually extolling the amiable accompliſhments and heroical virtues of that princeſs, they impelled the ſanguine and unguarded mind of young Babington

[g] Murden's State Papers, p. 517.

[h] Camden, p. 515.

bington to make ſome attempt for her ſervice; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal, to give him a contempt of thoſe dangers which attended any enterprize againſt the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well diſpoſed for their purpoſe, they ſent him back to England, and ſecretly, unknown to himſelf, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a perſon worth engaging in her ſervice. She wrote him a letter, full of friendſhip and confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper, and zealous in his principles, thought that theſe advances now bound him in honour to devote himſelf entirely to the ſervice of that unfortunate princeſs. During ſome time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correſpondence; but after ſhe was put under the cuſtody of Sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced ſo much difficulty and danger in rendering her this ſervice, that he had deſiſted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal ſuſpended, not extinguiſhed: His former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprize which ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs in the cauſe of Mary and of the catholic religion. He had entertained ſentiments conformable to thoſe of Paget, and repreſented the folly of all attempts which, during the lifetime of Elizabeth, could be formed againſt the eſtabliſhed religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to diſcover to him the deſign undertaken by Savage[1]; and was well pleaſed to obſerve, that, inſtead of being ſhocked with the project, Babington only thought it not ſecure enough, when entruſted to one ſingle hand, and propoſed to join five others with Savage in this deſperate enterprize.

[1] Ibid. State Trials, p. 114.

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In profecution of theſe views, Babington employed himſelf in encreaſing the number of his aſſociates; and he ſecretly drew into the conſpiracy many catholic gentlemen, diſcontented with the preſent government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancaſhire, and Abington, whoſe father had been cofferer to the houſehold, readily undertook the aſſaſſination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Titchborne of Southampton, when the deſign was propoſed to them, expreſſed ſome ſcruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refuſed, during ſome time, to ſhare the glory of the enterprize with any others[k]; he challenged the whole to himſelf; and it was with ſome difficulty he was induced to depart from this prepoſterous ambition.

The deliverance of the queen of Scots, at the very ſame inſtant when Elizabeth ſhould be aſſaſſinated, was requiſite for effecting the purpoſe of the conſpirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horſe, to attack her guards, while ſhe ſhould be taking the air on horſeback. In this enterprize he engaged Edward Windſor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Saliſbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; moſt of them men of family and intereſt. The conſpirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of the enterprize; but they truſted, that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance, would rouze all the zealous catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confuſion, would eaſily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and re-eſtabliſh the ancient religion.

Theſe deſperate projects had not eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walſingham, ſe-

[k] State Trials, vol. i. p. 122.

cretary

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cretary of ſtate. That artful miniſter had engaged Maud, a catholic prieſt, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the deſigns entertained by the fugitives. Polly, another of his ſpies, had found means to inſinuate himſelf among the conſpirators in England; and, though not entirely truſted, had obtained ſome inſight into their dangerous ſecrets. But the bottom of the conſpiracy was never fully known, till Gifford, a ſeminary prieſt, came over, and made a tender of his ſervices to Walſingham. By his means, the diſcovery became of the utmoſt importance, and involved the fate of Mary, as well as of thoſe zealous partizans of that princeſs.

BABINGTON and his aſſociates, having laid ſuch a plan, as, they thought, promiſed infallible ſucceſs, were impatient to communicate the deſign to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this ſervice they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walſingham, that the intereſt of that miniſter might forward his ſecret correſpondence with Mary. Walſingham propoſed the matter to Paulet, and deſired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his ſervants: But Paulet, averſe to the introducing of ſuch a pernicious precedent into his family, deſired that they would rather think of ſome other expedient. Gifford found a brewer, who ſupplied the family with ale; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thruſt through a chink in the wall; and anſwers were returned by the ſame conveyance.

BALLARD and Babington were at firſt diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: But finding by the anſwers that theſe had been faithfully delivered, they laid aſide all farther ſcruple, and conveyed by his hands

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hands the moſt criminal and dangerous parts of their conſpiracy. Babington informed Mary of the deſign laid for a foreign invaſion, the plan of an inſurrection at home, the ſcheme for her deliverance, and the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the uſurper, by ſix noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cauſe and her majeſty's ſervice, would undertake the *tragical execution*.

Mary aſſents to the conſpiracy.

Mary replied, that ſhe approved highly of the deſign; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it ſhould ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a neceſſary circumſtance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an inſurrection[1]. Theſe letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and Sir Francis Ingleſield, were carried by Gifford to ſecretary Walſingham; were decyphered by the art of Philips, his clerk; and copies taken of them. Walſingham employed another artifice, in order to obtain full inſight into the plot: He ſubjoined to a letter of Mary's a poſtſcript in the ſame cypher; in which he made her deſire Babington to inform her of the names of the conſpirators. The indiſcretion of Babington furniſhed Walſingham with ſtill another means of detection, as well as of defence. That gentleman had cauſed a picture to be drawn, where he himſelf was repreſented ſtanding amidſt the ſix aſſaſſins; and a motto was ſubjoined, expreſſing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that ſhe might know the aſſaſſins, and guard herſelf againſt their approach to her perſon.

MEANWHILE, Babington, anxious to enſure and haſten the foreign ſuccours, reſolved to diſpatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a feigned

[1] State Trials, vol. i. p. 135. Camden, p. 515.

name,

name, a licence to travel. In order to remove from himſelf all ſuſpicion, he applied to Walſingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's ſervice, offered to go abroad, and profeſſed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and diſappointment of their conſpiracies. Walſingham commended his loyal purpoſes; and promiſing his own counſel and aſſiſtance in the execution of them, ſtill fed him with hopes, and maintained a cloſe correſpondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was iſſued for ſeizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the conſciouſneſs of guilt, begat in all the conſpirators the utmoſt anxiety and concern. Some adviſed, that they ſhould immediately make their eſcape: Others propoſed, that Savage and Charnoc ſhould without delay execute their purpoſe againſt Elizabeth; and Babington, in proſecution of this ſcheme, furniſhed Savage with money, that he might buy good clothes, and thereby have more eaſy acceſs to the queen's perſon. Next day, they began to apprehend, that they had taken the alarm too haſtily; and Babington, having renewed his correſpondence with Walſingham, was perſuaded by that ſubtle miniſter, that the ſeizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the uſual diligence of informers in the detection of popiſh and ſeminary prieſts. He even conſented to take lodgings ſecretly in Walſingham's houſe, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France: But obſerving, that he was watched and guarded, he made his eſcape, and gave the alarm to the other conſpirators. They all took to flight, covered themſelves with ſeveral diſguiſes, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were ſoon diſcovered, and thrown into priſon. In their examinations, they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confeſſion of the truth. Fourteen were condemned

The conſpirators ſeized and executed.

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demned and executed: Of whom, ſeven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the reſt were convicted by evidence.

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THE leſſer conſpirators being diſpatched, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots; on whoſe account, and with whoſe concurrence, theſe attempts had been made againſt the life of the queen, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's counſellors were averſe to this procedure; and thought, that the cloſe confinement of a woman, who was become very ſickly, and who would probably put a ſpeedy period to their anxiety by her natural death, might give ſufficient ſecurity to the government, without attempting a meaſure, of which there ſcarcely remains any example in hiſtory. Leiceſter adviſed, that Mary ſhould be ſecretly diſpatched by poiſon, and he ſent a divine to convince Walſingham of the lawfulneſs of that action: But Walſingham declared his abhorrence of it; and ſtill inſiſted, in conjunction with the majority of the counſellors, for the open trial of the queen of Scots. The ſituation of England, and of the Engliſh miniſters, had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No ſucceſſor of the crown was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied provocations, an enemy to the miniſters and principal nobility; and their perſonal ſafety, as well as the ſafety of the public, ſeemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now ſomewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counſellors, knowing themſelves to be ſo obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to puſh every meaſure to extremities againſt her; and were even more anxious than the queen herſelf, to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

THOUGH

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THOUGH all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great ſurprize to her, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were diſcovered and arreſted. He choſe the time for giving her this intelligence, when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to go a hunting; and ſhe was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay caſtle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the laſt ſtage of her trial and ſufferings. Her two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arreſted: All her papers were ſeized, and ſent up to the council: Above ſixty different keys to cyphers were diſcovered: There were alſo found many letters from perſons beyond ſea, and ſeveral too from Engliſh noblemen, containing expreſſions of reſpect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, knowing their correſpondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themſelves thenceforth the moſt inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots [m].

Reſolution to try the queen of Scots.

IT was reſolved to try Mary, not by the common ſtatute of treaſons, but by the act which had paſſed the former year, with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy-counſellors, and empowered them to examine and paſs ſentence on Mary, whom ſhe denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commiſſioners came to Fotheringay caſtle, and ſent to her Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias

[m] Camden, p. 518.

nity or from her impriſonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though ſhe ſhould refuſe to anſwer before them. Burleigh, the treaſurer, and Bromley, the chancellor, employed much reaſoning to make her ſubmit; but the perſon, whoſe arguments had the chief influence, was Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His ſpeech was to this purpoſe: "You are accuſed, madam," ſaid he, "but not condemned, of having conſpired the deſtruc-"tion of our lady and queen anointed. You ſay, you "are a queen: But, in ſuch a crime as this, and ſuch "a ſituation as yours, the royal dignity itſelf, neither "by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nature or "of nations, is exempt from judgment. If you be inno-"cent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. "We have been preſent at your proteſtations of inno-"cence: But queen Elizabeth thinks otherwiſe; and is "heartily ſorry for the appearances which lie againſt "you. To examine, therefore, your cauſe, ſhe has "appointed commiſſioners; honourable perſons, prudent "and upright men, who are ready to hear you with "equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if you "can clear yourſelf of the imputations which have been "thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen "herſelf will rejoice, who affirmed to me at my de-"parture, that nothing, which ever befel her, had "given her ſo much uneaſineſs, as that you ſhould be "ſuſpected of a concurrence in theſe criminal enterprizes. "Laying aſide, therefore, the fruitleſs claim of privilege "from your royal dignity, which can now avail you no-"thing, truſt to the better defence of your innocence, "make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon your "memory that ſtain of infamy, which muſt attend your "obſtinate ſilence on this occaſion[n]."

1586. The commiſſioners prevail on her to ſubmit to the trial.

[n] Camden, p. 523.

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By this artful ſpeech, Mary was perſuaded to anſwer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented thoſe difficulties, which the commiſſioners muſt have fallen into, had ſhe perſevered in maintaining ſo ſpecious a plea as that of her ſovereign and independent character. Her conduct in this particular muſt be regarded as the more imprudent; becauſe formerly, when Elizabeth's commiſſioners pretended not to exerciſe any juriſdiction over her, and only entered into her cauſe by her own conſent and approbation, ſhe declined juſtifying herſelf, when her honour, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, ſeemed abſolutely to require it.

The trial.

On her firſt appearance before the commiſſioners, Mary, either ſenſible of her imprudence, or ſtill unwilling to degrade herſelf by ſubmitting to a trial, renewed her proteſtation againſt the authority of her judges: The chancellor anſwered her by pleading the ſupreme authority of the Engliſh laws over every one who reſided in England: And the commiſſioners accommodated matters, by ordering both her proteſtation and his anſwer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge againſt the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that ſhe had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that ſhe had kept a correſpondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary ſeemed not anxious to clear herſelf from either of theſe imputations. She only ſaid, that ſhe could not hinder others from uſing what ſtyle they pleaſed in writing to her; and that ſhe might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of her's to Mendoza was next produced; in which ſhe promiſed to transfer to Philip her

her right to the kingdom of England, if her ſon ſhould refuſe to be converted to the catholic faith, an event, ſhe there ſaid, of which there was no expectation, while he remained in the hands of his Scottiſh ſubjects[o]. Even this part of the charge ſhe took no pains to deny, or rather ſhe ſeemed to acknowledge it. She ſaid, that ſhe had no kingdoms to diſpoſe of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleaſure what was her own, and ſhe was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that ſhe had formerly rejected that propoſal from Spain; but now, ſince all her hopes in England were gone, ſhe was fully determined not to refuſe foreign aſſiſtance. There was alſo produced evidence to prove, that Allen and Parſons were at that very time negociating by her orders at Rome the conditions of transferring her Engliſh crown to the king of Spain, and of diſinheriting her heretical ſon[p]. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices againſt her ſon were, at this time, carried ſo far, that ſhe had even entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had inſtigated her adherents to ſeize James's perſon, and deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming catholic[q].

The only part of the charge, which Mary poſitively denied, was her concurrence in the deſign of aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. This article indeed was the moſt heavy, and the only one that could fully juſtify the queen in proceeding to extremities againſt her. In order to prove the accuſation, there were produced the following evidence: Copies taken in ſecretary Walſingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her

o State Trials, vol. i. p. 138. p See note [U] at the end of the volume. q See note [X] at the end of the volume.

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approbation of the murder was clearly expreſſed; the evidence of her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confeſſed, without being put to any torture, both that ſhe received theſe letters from Babington, and that they had written the anſwers, by her order; the confeſſion of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the anſwers [q], and the confeſſion of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had ſhowed them theſe letters of Mary written in the cypher, which had been ſettled between them.

It is evident, that this complication of evidence, though every circumſtance corroborates the general concluſion, reſolves itſelf finally into the teſtimony of the two ſecretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their miſtreſs's concurrence in Babington's conſpiracy, but who knew themſelves expoſed to all the rigours of impriſonment, torture, and death, if they refuſed to give any evidence, which might be required of them. In the caſe of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its diſadvantages, would be eſteemed legal, and even ſatisfactory, if not oppoſed by ſome other circumſtances, which ſhake the credit of the witneſſes: But on the preſent trial, where the abſolute power of the proſecutor concurred with ſuch important intereſts, and ſuch a violent inclination to have the princeſs condemned; the teſtimony of two witneſſes, even though men of character, ought to be ſupported by ſtrong probabilities, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of tyranny and injuſtice. The proof againſt Mary, it muſt be confeſſed, is not deſtitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to account for Babington's receiving an anſwer, written in her name, and in the cypher concerted between them, without allowing, that the matter had been communicated to that princeſs. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has diſcovered every thing, which could

[q] State Trials, vol. i. p. 113.

guide

guide our judgment with regard to it: No wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unaſſiſted by counſel, and confounded by ſo extraordinary a trial, found herſelf incapable of making a ſatisfactory defence before the commiſſioners. Her reply conſiſted chiefly in her own denial: Whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened, by her poſitively affirming, that ſhe never had had any correſpondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the leaſt queſtion[r]. She aſſerted, that, as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence againſt her ought not to be credited. She confeſſed, however, that Nau had been in the ſervice of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a man in whom ſhe might ſafely confide. She alſo acknowledged Curle to be a very honeſt man, but ſimple, and eaſily impoſed on by Nau. If theſe two men had received any letters, or had written any anſwers, without her knowledge, the imputation, ſhe ſaid, could never lie on her. And ſhe was the more inclined, ſhe added, to entertain this ſuſpicion againſt them, becauſe Nau had, in other inſtances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to tranſact buſineſs in her name, without communicating the matter to her[s]. 1586.

The ſole circumſtance of her defence, which to us may appear to have ſome force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle ſhould be confronted with her, and her affirming, that they never would to her face perſiſt in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not then ſupported by law in trials of high treaſon, and was often refuſed even in other trials, where the crown was proſecutor. The clauſe, contained in an act of the 13th of the queen, was a novelty; that the ſpecies of

[r] See note [Y] at the end of the volume.

[s] See note [Z] at the end of the volume.

treaſon

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treaſon there enumerated muſt be proved by two witneſſes, confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and the miniſters and crown lawyers of this reign were always ſure to refuſe every indulgence beyond what the ſtrict letter of the law, and the ſettled practice of the courts of juſtice, required of them. Not to mention, that theſe ſecretaries were not probably at Fotheringay-caſtle during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commiſſioners[t].

THERE paſſed two incidents in this trial, which may be worth obſerving. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers: On hearing their names ſhe broke into a ſigh, "Alas," ſaid ſhe, "what has the "noble houſe of the Howards ſuffered for my ſake?" She affirmed, with regard to the ſame letter, that it was eaſy to forge the hand-writing and cypher of another; ſhe was afraid, that this was too familiar a practice with Walſingham, who, ſhe alſo heard, had frequently practiſed both againſt her life and her ſon's. Walſingham, who was one of the commiſſioners, roſe up. He proteſted, that, in his private capacity, he had never acted any thing againſt the queen of Scots: In his public capacity, he owned, that his concern for his ſovereign's ſafety had made him very diligent in ſearching out, by every expedient, all deſigns againſt her ſacred perſon or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make uſe of the aſſiſtance of Ballard or any other conſpirator; he would alſo reward them for betraying

[t] Queen Elizabeth was willing to have allowed Curle and Nau to be produced in the trial, and writes to that purpoſe, to Burleigh and Walſingham, in her letter of the 7th of October, in Forbes's MS. collections. She only ſays, that ſhe thinks it needleſs, though ſhe was willing to agree to it. The not confronting of the witneſſes was not the reſult of deſign, but the practice of the age.

their

their companions. But if he had tampered in any manner unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuſe him of ſuch practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by ſaying that ſhe ſpoke from information; and ſhe begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to ſuch as ſlandered her, than ſhe ſhould to ſuch as accuſed him. The great character indeed, which Sir Francis Walſingham bears for probity and honour, ſhould remove from him all ſuſpicion of ſuch baſe arts as forgery and ſubornation; arts, which even the moſt corrupt miniſters, in the moſt corrupt times, would ſcruple to employ. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

HAVING finiſhed the trial, the commiſſioners adjourned from Fotheringay-caſtle, and met in the Star Chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two ſecretaries, who, voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of thoſe letters before produced, they pronounced ſentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their ſeals and ſubſcriptions. The ſame day, a declaration was publiſhed by the commiſſioners and the judges, "that the ſentence did no-"wiſe derogate from the title and honour of James, "king of Scotland; but that he was in the ſame place, "degree, and right, as if the ſentence had never been "pronounced[u]." 25th October. Sentence againſt Mary.

THE queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that ſituation which ſhe had long ardently deſired; and had found a plauſible reaſon for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom, from the beginning of her reign, ſhe had ever equally dreaded and hated. But ſhe was reſtrained from inſtantly gratifying her reſentment, by ſeveral important conſiderations. She foreſaw the invidious colours, in which this example of uncommon juriſdiction

[u] Camden, p. 526.

would

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29th Octob. THAT the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of juſtice upon Mary, ſhe ſummoned a new parliament; and ſhe knew, both from the uſual diſpoſitions of that aſſembly, and from the influence of her miniſters over them, that ſhe ſhould not want the moſt earneſt ſolicitation to conſent to that meaſure, which was ſo agreeable to her ſecret inclinations. She did not open this aſſembly in perſon, but appointed for that purpoſe three commiſſioners, Bromley, the chancellor, Burleigh, the treaſurer, and the earl of Derby. The reaſon aſſigned for this meaſure was, that the queen, foreſeeing that the affair of the queen of Scots would be canvaſſed in parliament, found her tenderneſs and delicacy ſo much hurt by that melancholy incident, that ſhe had not the courage to be preſent while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what ſhe could not behold without the utmoſt reluctance and uneaſineſs. She was alſo willing, that, by this unuſual precaution, the

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ſhe people ſhould ſee the danger to which her perſon was hourly expoſed; and ſhould thence be more ſtrongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal, whoſe reſtleſs intrigues, and bloody conſpiracies, had ſo long expoſed her to the moſt imminent perils [x].

THE parliament anſwered the queen's expectations: The ſentence againſt Mary was unanimouſly ratified by both houſes; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's conſent to its publication and execution [y]. She gave an anſwer ambiguous, embarraſſed; full of real artifice, and ſeeming irreſolution. She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually expoſed; ſhe declared her willingneſs to die, did ſhe not foreſee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation; ſhe made profeſſions of the greateſt tenderneſs to her people; ſhe diſplayed the clemency of her temper, and expreſſed her violent reluctance to execute the ſentence againſt her unhappy kinſwoman; ſhe affirmed, that the late law, by which that princeſs was tried, ſo far from being made to enſnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand, not to engage in ſuch attempts, as might expoſe her to the penalties with which ſhe was thus openly menaced; and ſhe begged them to think once again, whether it were poſſible to find any expedient, beſides the death of the queen of Scots, for ſecuring the public tranquillity [z]. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under conſideration; but could find no other poſſible expedient. They reiterated their ſolicitations, and entreaties, and arguments: They even remonſtrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her ſubjects and children: And they affirmed, that it were injuſtice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people,

[x] D'Ewes, p. 375. [y] Ibid. p. 379. [z] Ibid. p. 402, 403.

now

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now unanimouſly and earneſtly ſuing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderneſs. This ſecond addreſs ſet the pretended doubts and ſcruples of Elizabeth anew in agitation: She complained of her own unfortunate ſituation; expreſſed her uneaſineſs from their importunity; renewed the profeſſions of affection to her people; and diſmiſſed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty, what, after all this deliberation, might be her final reſolution [a].

But though the queen affected reluctance to execute the ſentence againſt Mary, ſhe complied with the requeſt of parliament in publiſhing it by proclamation; and this act ſeemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people. Lord Buckhurſt, and Beale, clerk of the council, were ſent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the ſentence pronounced againſt her, its ratification by parliament, and the earneſt applications made for its execution by that aſſembly, who thought, that their religion could never, while ſhe was alive, attain a full ſettlement and ſecurity. Mary was nowiſe diſmayed at this intelligence: On the contrary, ſhe joyfully laid hold of the laſt circumſtance mentioned to her; and inſiſted, that, ſince her death was demanded by the proteſtants for the eſtabliſhment of their faith, ſhe was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the Engliſh had often embrued their hands in the blood of their ſovereigns: No wonder they exerciſed cruelty againſt her, who derived her deſcent from theſe monarchs [b]. Paulet, her keeper, received orders to take down her canopy, and to ſerve her no longer with the reſpect due to ſovereign princes. He told her, that ſhe was now to be conſidered as a dead perſon; and incapable of any dignity [c]. This harſh treatment produced

[a] See note [AA] at the end of the volume.
[b] Camden, p. 528.
[c] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 293.

not

not in her any ſeeming emotion. She only replied, that ſhe received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

THE queen of Scots wrote her laſt letter to Elizabeth; full of dignity, without departing from that ſpirit of meekneſs and of charity, which appeared ſuitable to this concluding ſcene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal ſentence: On the contrary, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a ſpeedy period her ſad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requeſted ſome favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her, that ſhe might be beholden for them to her own goodneſs alone, without making applications to thoſe miniſters, who had diſcovered ſuch an extreme malignity againſt her perſon and her religion. She deſired, that after her enemies ſhould be ſatiated with her innocent blood, her body, which, it was determined, ſhould never enjoy reſt, while her ſoul was united to it, might be conſigned to her ſervants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repoſe in a catholic land, with the ſacred reliques of her mother. In Scotland, ſhe ſaid, the ſepulchres of her anceſtors were violated, and the churches either demoliſhed or profaned; and in England, where ſhe might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, ſhe could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with thoſe rites and ceremonies which her religion required. She requeſted, that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution ſhould be public, and attended by her ancient ſervants, who might bear teſtimony of her perſeverance in the faith, and of her ſubmiſſion to the will of Heaven. She begged, that theſe ſervants might afterwards be allowed to depart whitherſoever they pleaſed, and might enjoy

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enjoy thoſe legacies, which ſhe ſhould bequeath them. And ſhe conjured her to grant theſe favours, by their near kindred; by the ſoul and memory of Henry VII. the common anceſtor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated [d]. Elizabeth made no anſwer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refuſal in her preſent ſituation, and foreſeeing inconveniencies from granting ſome of her requeſts.

WHILE the queen of Scots thus prepared herſelf to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt her. Beſides employing L'Aubeſpine, the French reſident at London, a creature of the houſe of Guiſe, Henry ſent over Bellievre, with a profeſſed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The duke of Guiſe and the league, at that time, threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that though that monarch might, from decency and policy, think himſelf obliged to interpoſe publicly in behalf of the queen of Scots, he could not ſecretly be much diſpleaſed with the death of a princeſs, on whoſe fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded ſo many daring and ambitious projects [e]. It is even pretended, that Bellievre had orders, after making public and vehement remonſtrances againſt the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his maſter's name, not to defer an act of juſtice, ſo neceſſary for their common ſafety [f]. But whether the French king's interceſſion were ſincere or not, it had no weight with the queen; and ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her former reſolution.

Interpoſition of king James.

THE interpoſition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, ſeemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As ſoon as James

[d] Camden. p. 529. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 295. [e] Camden, p. 494.
[f] Du Maurier.

heard

heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent Sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in very severe terms, against the indignity of the procedure. He said, that he was astonished to hear of the presumption of English noblemen and counsellors, who had dared to sit in judgment and pass sentence upon a queen of Scotland, descended from the blood-royal of England; but he was still more astonished to hear, that thoughts were seriously entertained of putting that sentence in execution: That he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the dishonour which she would draw on her name by embruing her hands in the blood of her near kinswoman, a person of the same royal dignity, and of the same sex with herself: That, in this unparalleled attempt, she offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own, and by reducing sovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards those whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: That, for his part, he must deem the injury and insult so enormous, as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it possible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correspondence with a person who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent: And that, even if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with this purpose of vengeance, his honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did not use every effort, and endure every hazard, to revenge so great an indignity [z].

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Soon after, James sent the master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith; and to employ with the queen every expedient of argu-

[z] Spotswood, p. 351.

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1586. ment and menaces. Elizabeth was at firſt offended with the ſharpneſs of theſe applications; and ſhe replied in a like ſtrain to the Scottiſh ambaſſadors. When ſhe afterwards reflected, that this earneſtneſs was no more than what duty required of James, ſhe was pacified; but ſtill retained her reſolution of executing the ſentence againſt Mary[h]. It is believed, that the maſter of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princeſs, ſecretly gave his advice not to ſpare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his maſter.

THE queen alſo, from many conſiderations, was induced to pay ſmall attention to the applications of James, and to diſregard all the efforts which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and intereſts, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred which the zealous proteſtants, particularly the preachers, bore to the queen of Scots. The preſent incidents ſet theſe diſpoſitions of the clergy in a full light. James, obſerving the fixed purpoſe of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and knowing the captious humour of the eccleſiaſtics, he took care that the form of the petition ſhould be moſt cautious, as well as humane and charitable: "That it might "pleaſe God to illuminate Mary with the light of his "truth, and ſave her from the apparent danger with "which ſhe was threatened." But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refuſed to pollute their churches by prayers for a papiſt, and would not ſo much as prefer a petition for her converſion. James, unwilling or unable to puniſh this diſobedience, and deſirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers ſhould be ſaid for his

[h] Spotſwood, p. 353.

mother;

mother; and that he might at leaſt ſecure himſelf from any inſult in his own preſence, he deſired the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to officiate before him. In order to diſappoint this purpoſe, the clergy inſtigated one Couper, a young man, who had not yet received holy orders, to take poſſeſſion of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the prelate. When the king came to church, and ſaw the pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his ſeat, and told him, that the place was deſtined for another; yet ſince he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine ſervice. The preacher replied, that he would do as the Spirit of God ſhould direct him. This anſwer ſufficiently inſtructed James in his purpoſe; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper ſeemed not diſpoſed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, That this day would be a witneſs againſt the king in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner [i]. The audience at firſt appeared deſirous to take part with him; but the ſermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane diſpoſition.

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Elizabeth, when ſolicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, ſeemed always determined to execute the ſentence againſt her: But when her miniſters urged her to interpoſe no more delays, her ſcruples and her heſitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace ſuch violent and ſanguinary meaſures; and ſhe was touched with compaſſion for the misfortunes, and with reſpect for the dignity, of the unhappy priſoner. The courtiers, ſenſible that they could do nothing more acceptable to her, than

[i] Spotſwood, p. 354.

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to employ perſuaſion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the puniſhment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged againſt this act of juſtice. They ſaid, that the treatment of that princeſs in England had been, on her firſt reception, ſuch as ſound reaſon and policy required; and if ſhe had been governed by principles of equity, ſhe would not have refuſed willingly to acquieſce in it: That the obvious inconveniencies, either of allowing her to retire into France, or of reſtoring her by force to her throne, in oppoſition to the reformers and the Engliſh party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England, till time ſhould offer ſome opportunity of ſerving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the proteſtant religion: That her uſage there had been ſuch as became her rank; her own ſervants, in conſiderable numbers, had been permitted to attend her; exerciſe had been allowed her for health, and all acceſs of company for amuſement; and theſe indulgences would, in time, have been carried farther, if by her ſubſequent conduct ſhe had appeared worthy of them: That after ſhe had inſtigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conſpiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of pope Pius, an invaſion from Flanders; after ſhe had ſeduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domeſtic, againſt her; it became neceſſary to treat her as a moſt dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more ſtrict and rigorous: That the queen, notwithſtanding theſe repeated provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importunity of her parliaments, and the advice of her ſageſt miniſters [k]; and was ſtill, in hopes of her amendment, determined to delay coming to the laſt extremities againſt her: That Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained ſo high and unconquerable a ſpirit, that ſhe acted as com-

[k] Digges, p. 276. Strype, vol. ii. p. 48. 135, 136. 139.

petitor

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petitor to the crown, and allowed her partizans every where, and in their very letters, addreſſed to herſelf, to treat her as queen of England: That ſhe had carried her animoſity ſo far as to encourage, in repeated inſtances, the atrocious deſign of aſſaſſinating the queen; and this crime was unqueſtionably proved upon her, by her own letters, by the evidence of her ſecretaries, and by the dying confeſſion of her accomplices: That ſhe was but a titular queen, and at preſent poſſeſſed no where any right of ſovereignty; much leſs in England, where, the moment ſhe ſet foot in the kingdom, ſhe voluntarily became ſubject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true ſovereign: That even allowing her to be ſtill the queen's equal in rank and dignity, ſelf-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, ſtill more a queen, had ſufficient juriſdiction over an enemy, who, by open violence, and ſtill more, who, by ſecret treachery, threatened the utmoſt danger againſt her life: That the general combination of the catholics to exterminate the proteſtants was no longer a ſecret; and as the ſole reſource of the latter perſecuted ſect lay in Elizabeth, ſo the chief hope which the former entertained of final ſucceſs, conſiſted in the perſon, and in the title of the queen of Scots: That this very circumſtance brought matters to extremity between theſe princeſſes; and rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to ſelf-preſervation, or to the happineſs of her people, ſhould direct her to purſue: And that neceſſity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that reſolution which equity would authoriſe, and which duty preſcribed[1].

When Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed, as decency

[1] Camden, p. 533.

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1586. required, ſhe at laſt determined to carry the ſentence into execution: But even in this final reſolution ſhe could not proceed without diſplaying a new ſcene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previouſly diſperſed, that the Spaniſh fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guiſe was landed in Suſſex with a ſtrong army; that the queen of Scots was eſcaped from priſon, and had raiſed an army; that the northern counties had begun an inſurrection; that there was a new conſpiracy on foot to aſſaſſinate the queen, and ſet the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually aſſaſſinated [m]. An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubeſpine, the French ambaſſador; and that miniſter was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was obſerved to ſit much alone, penſive and ſilent; and ſometimes to mutter to herſelf half-ſentences, importing the difficulty and diſtreſs to which ſhe was reduced [n]. She at laſt called Daviſon, a man of parts, but eaſy to be impoſed on, and who had lately, for that very reaſon, been made ſecretary, and ſhe ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, ſhe afterwards ſaid, ſhe intended to keep by her, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the deliverance of that princeſs. She ſigned the warrant; and then commanded Daviſon to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal appended to it. Next day ſhe ſent Killigrew to Daviſon, enjoining him to forbear, ſome time, executing her former orders; and when Daviſon came and told her that the warrant had already paſſed the great ſeal, ſhe ſeemed to be ſomewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Daviſon, being in a perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole

[m] Camden, p. 533. [n] Ibid. p. 534.

tranſaction;

transaction; and they endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend off Beale with the warrant: If the queen ſhould be diſpleaſed, they promiſed to juſtify his conduct, and to take on themſelves the whole blame of this meaſure [o]. The ſecretary, not ſufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was diſpatched to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, and ſome others, ordering them to ſee the ſentence executed upon the queen of Scots. 1587.

7th Feb. The execution.

THE two earls came to Fotheringay-caſtle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commiſſion, and deſired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She ſeemed no-wiſe terrified, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed, with the intelligence. She ſaid, with a cheerful, and even a ſmiling countenance, that ſhe did not think the queen, her ſiſter, would have conſented to her death, or have executed the ſentence againſt a perſon, not ſubject to the laws and juriſdiction of England. "But as ſuch is her will," ſaid ſhe, "death, "which puts an end to all my miſeries, ſhall be to me "moſt welcome; nor can I eſteem that ſoul worthy the "felicities of heaven, which cannot ſupport the body "under the horrors of the laſt paſſage to theſe bliſsful "manſions [p]." She then requeſted the two noblemen, that they would permit ſome of her ſervants, and particularly her confeſſor, to attend her: But they told her, that compliance with this laſt demand was contrary to their conſcience [q], and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborow, a man of great learning, ſhould be preſent, to

[o] It appears by ſome letters publiſhed by Strype, vol. iii. book ii. c. 1. that Elizabeth had not expreſsly communicated her intention to any of her miniſters, not even to Burleigh: They were ſuch experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by ſerving her without waiting till ſhe deſired them.

[p] Camden, p. 534. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 301. MS. in the Advocates' Library, p. 2. from the Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9.

[q] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302.

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inſtruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refuſal to have any conference with this divine, inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, ſhe conſtantly denied his conſpiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs ſhe reſigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls had left her, ſhe ordered ſupper to be haſtened, that ſhe might have the more leiſure, after it, to finiſh the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her paſſage to another. It was neceſſary for her, ſhe ſaid, to take ſome ſuſtenance, leſt a failure of her bodily ſtrength ſhould depreſs her ſpirits on the morrow, and leſt her behaviour ſhould thereby betray a weakneſs unworthy of herſelf[r]. She ſupped ſparingly, as her manner uſually was; and her wonted cheerfulneſs did not even deſert her on this occaſion. She comforted her ſervants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her phyſician, ſhe aſked him, Whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? "They pretend," ſaid ſhe, "that I muſt "die, becauſe I conſpired againſt their queen's life: But "the earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other "cauſe of my death, than the apprehenſions, which, if "I ſhould live, they entertain for their religion. My "conſtancy in the faith is my real crime: The reſt is "only a colour, invented by intereſted and deſigning "men." Towards the end of ſupper, ſhe called in all her ſervants, and drank to them: They pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of their duty: She deigned, in return, to

[r] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 479.

aſk

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ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewel, and exchange of mutual forgiveness[s]. 1587.

MARY's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: She ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: To some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin, the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated hoste from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her[t].

TOWARDS the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them this dress, rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

THOMAS ANDREWS, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her, that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She re-

[s] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302. 626. Camden, p. 534. [t] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

plied,

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plied, That ſhe was ready; and bidding adieu to her ſervants, ſhe leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, becauſe of an infirmity in her limbs; and ſhe followed the ſheriff with a ſerene and compoſed countenance. In paſſing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, ſhe was met by the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction. Here ſhe alſo found Sir Andrew Melvil, her ſteward, who flung himſelf on his knees before her; and, wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, Madam! unhappy me! "what man was ever before the meſſenger of ſuch heavy "tidings as I muſt carry, when I ſhall return to my "native country, and ſhall report, that I ſaw my gra- "cious queen and miſtreſs beheaded in England?" His tears prevented farther ſpeech; and Mary too felt herſelf moved, more from ſympathy than affliction. "Ceaſe, "my good ſervant," ſaid ſhe, "ceaſe to lament: Thou "haſt cauſe rather to rejoice than to mourn: For now "ſhalt thou ſee the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their "long-expected period and completion. Know," continued ſhe, "good ſervant, that all the world at beſt is "vanity, and ſubject ſtill to more ſorrow than a whole "ocean of tears is able to bewail. But, I pray thee, carry "this meſſage from me, that I die a true woman to my "religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland "and to France. Heaven forgive them, that have long "deſired my end, and have thirſted for my blood as the "hart panteth after the water brooks." "O God," "added ſhe, "thou that art the Author of truth, and truth "itſelf, thou knoweſt the inmoſt receſſes of my heart: "Thou knoweſt that I was ever deſirous to preſerve "an entire union between Scotland and England, and "to obviate the ſource of all theſe fatal diſcords. But "recommend me, Melvil, to my ſon, and tell him, that "notwithſtanding all my diſtreſſes, I have done nothing

"prejudicial

" prejudicial to the ſtate and kingdom of Scotland." After theſe words, reclining herſelf, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, ſhe kiſſed him. And ſo," ſaid ſhe, " good Melvil, farewel: Once again, farewel, " good Melvil; and grant the aſſiſtance of thy prayers to " thy queen and miſtreſs[n]."

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She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her ſervants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the preſents which ſhe had made them, and be ſent ſafely into their own country. Having received a favourable anſwer, ſhe preferred another requeſt, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: In order, ſaid ſhe, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witneſs, how patiently their queen and miſtreſs can ſubmit to her execution, and how conſtantly ſhe perſeveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent oppoſed this deſire, and told her, that they would be apt, by their ſpeeches and cries, to diſturb both herſelf and the ſpectators: He was alſo apprehenſive, leſt they ſhould practiſe ſome ſuperſtition, not meet for him to ſuffer; ſuch as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: For that was the inſtance which he made uſe of. " My lord," ſaid the queen of Scots, " I will give my word (although it be " but dead) that they ſhall not incur any blame in any " of the actions which you have named. But, alas! poor " ſouls! it would be a great conſolation to them to bid " their miſtreſs farewel. And I hope," added ſhe, " that your miſtreſs, being a maiden queen, would " vouchſafe, in regard of womanhood, that I ſhould have " ſome of my own people about me at my death. I " know that her majeſty hath not given you any ſuch " ſtrict command, but that you might grant me a requeſt " of far greater courteſy, even though I were a woman

[n] MS. p. 4. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 634. Strype, vol. iii. p. 384.

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" of inferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent perſiſted ſtill in his refuſal, her mind, which had fortified itſelf againſt the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity, for which ſhe was not prepared. " I am couſin to your queen," cried ſhe, " and " deſcended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. and a " married queen of France, and an anointed queen of " Scotland." The commiſſioners, perceiving how invidious their obſtinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed, that ſhe might carry a few of her ſervants along with her. She made choice of four men, and two maid-ſervants, for that purpoſe.

SHE then paſſed into another hall, where was erected the ſcaffold, covered with black; and ſhe ſaw, with an undiſmayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with ſpectators; and no one was ſo ſteeled againſt all ſentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, when he reflected on her royal dignity, conſidered the ſurpriſing train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible conſtancy, recalled her amiable accompliſhments, or ſurveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, ſtill diſcovered themſelves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony ſhe was ſilent, but ſhewed, in her behaviour, an indifference and unconcern, as if the buſineſs had no wiſe regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborow ſtepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him, that he needed not concern himſelf about her, that ſhe was ſettled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that ſhe meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he ſtill thought it his duty to perſiſt in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her converſion. The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious inſtructions,

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inſtructions, cruel inſults on her unfortunate ſituation; and beſides their own abſurdity, may be regarded as the moſt mortifying indignities to which ſhe had ever yet been expoſed. He told her, that the queen of England had, on this occaſion, ſhewn a tender care of her; and, notwithſtanding the puniſhment juſtly to be inflicted on her, for her manifold treſpaſſes, was determined to uſe every expedient for ſaving her ſoul from that deſtruction with which it was ſo nearly threatened: That ſhe was now ſtanding upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of eſcaping endleſs perdition, than by repenting her former wickedneſs, by juſtifying the ſentence pronounced againſt her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Chriſt Jeſus: That the ſcriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Chriſt the only means of ſalvation; and if ſhe truſted in the inventions or devices of men, ſhe muſt expect in an inſtant to fall into utter darkneſs, into a place where ſhall be weeping, howling, and gnaſhing of teeth: That the hand of death was upon her, the ax was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was ſpread wide, and the particular ſentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: And that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to riſe to the reſurrection of life, and hear that joyful ſalutation, *Come, ye bleſſed of my Father*, or to ſhare the reſurrection of condemnation, replete with ſorrow and anguiſh; and to ſuffer that dreadful denunciation, *Go, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire* [x].

During this diſcourſe Mary could not ſometimes forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that ſhe had profited nothing by his lecture, at laſt bade her change her opinion,

[x] MS. p. 8, 9, 10, 11. Strype, vol. iii. p. 385.

repent

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repent her of her former wickedneſs, and ſettle her faith upon this ground, that only in Chriſt Jeſus could ſhe hope to be ſaved. She anſwered, again and again, with great earneſtneſs: "Trouble not yourſelf any more about "the matter: For I was born in this religion; I have "lived in this religion; and in this religion I am reſolv-"ed to die." Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruitleſs to haraſs her any farther with theological diſputes; and they ordered the dean to deſiſt from his unſeaſonable exhortations, and to pray for her converſion. During the dean's prayer, ſhe employed herſelf in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finiſhed, ſhe pronounced aloud ſome petitions in Engliſh, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her ſon, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princeſs might long proſper, and be employed in his ſervice. The earl of Kent obſerving that, in her devotions, ſhe made frequent uſe of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popiſh trumpery, as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Chriſt in her heart, not in her hand[y]. She replied with preſence of mind, that it was difficult to hold ſuch an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with ſome compunction[z].

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to diſrobe herſelf; and the executioner alſo lent his hand to aſſiſt them. She ſmiled, and ſaid, that ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets. Her ſervants, ſeeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burſt into tears and lamentations: She turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them[a]; and having given them her bleſſing,

[y] MS. p. 15. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 307. 491. 637.
[z] Jebb, ibid.
[a] Jebb, p. 307. 492.

deſired

desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down, without any sign of fear or trepidation; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death: The dean of Peterborow alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Eliza-"beth's enemies!" The earl of Kent alone replied "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess. CHAP. XLII. 1587.

THUS perished, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots; a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and, during one period, very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person, and graces of her air, combined to make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her address and conversation aided the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society; of a lofty spirit, constant, and even vehement, in her purpose, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces which compose the proper ornament of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty Mary's character.

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of our nature; of the violence of paſſion, and of the influence which ſituations, and ſometimes momentary incidents, have on perſons whoſe principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her huſband, ſeduced by the treacherous counſels of one in whom ſhe repoſed confidence, tranſported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay ſufficiently under the guidance of diſcretion, ſhe was betrayed into actions which may, with ſome difficulty, be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct muſt, in ſome parts, wear the aſpect of ſevere ſatire and invective.

HER numerous misfortunes, the ſolitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the perſecutions to which ſhe had been expoſed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her later years; and ſuch were the prevalent ſpirit and principles of the age, that it is the leſs wonder if her zeal, her reſentment, and her intereſt uniting, induced her to give conſent to a deſign which conſpirators, actuated only by the firſt of theſe motives, had formed againſt the life of Elizabeth.

The queen's affected ſorrow.

WHEN the queen was informed of Mary's execution, ſhe affected the utmoſt ſurprize and indignation. Her countenance changed; her ſpeech faultered and failed her; for a long time her ſorrow was ſo deep that ſhe could not expreſs it, but ſtood fixed, like a ſtatue, in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burſt out in loud wailings and lamentations; ſhe put herſelf in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and ſhe was ſeen perpetually bathed in tears, and ſurrounded only by her maids and women. None of her miniſters or counſellors dared to approach her; or if any had ſuch temerity, ſhe chaſed them from her, with the

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the moſt violent expreſſions of rage and reſentment: They had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear ſiſter and kinſwoman, contrary to her fixed purpoſe[b], of which they were ſufficiently apprized and acquainted.

No ſooner was her ſorrow ſo much abated as to leave room for reflection, than ſhe wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and ſent it by Sir Robert Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon. She there told him, that ſhe wiſhed he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which ſhe experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much leſs concurrence, had happened in England: That as her pen trembled, when ſhe attempted to write it, ſhe found herſelf obliged ſo commit the relation of it to the meſſenger, her kinſman; who would likewiſe inform his majeſty of every circumſtance attending this diſmal and unlooked-for misfortune: That ſhe appealed to the ſupreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was alſo ſo happy, amidſt her other afflictions, as to find, that many perſons in her court could bear witneſs to her veracity in this proteſtation: That ſhe abhorred diſſimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a ſincere and open conduct; and could never ſurely be eſteemed ſo baſe and poor-ſpirited, as that, if ſhe had really given orders for this fatal execution, ſhe could, on any conſideration, be induced to deny them: That, though ſenſible of the juſtice of the ſentence pronounced againſt the unhappy priſoner, ſhe determined from clemency never to carry it into execution; and could not but reſent the temerity of thoſe, who on this occaſion had diſappointed her intention: And that as no one loved him more dearly than herſelf, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare; ſhe hoped, that he would conſider every

[b] Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 245. Jebb, vol. ii p. 608.

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one as his enemy, who endeavoured, on account of the preſent incident, to excite any animoſity between them[c].

In order the better to appeaſe James, ſhe committed Daviſon to priſon and ordered him to be tried in the Star-Chamber for his miſdemeanour. The ſecretary was confounded; and being ſenſible of the danger, which muſt attend his entering into a conteſt with the queen, he expreſſed penitence for his error, and ſubmitted very patiently to be railed at by thoſe very counſellors, whoſe perſuaſion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promiſed to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, and to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds. He remained a long time in cuſtody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorouſly levied upon him. All the favour, which he could obtain from the queen, was ſending him ſmall ſupplies from time to time, to keep him from periſhing in neceſſity[d]. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walſingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambaſſadors, he ſaid, had been remonſtrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure, ſhe commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princeſs. She ſigned it readily, and ordered it to be ſealed with the great ſeal of England. She appeared in ſuch good humour on the occaſion, that ſhe ſaid to him in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walſingham, who is now "ſick: Though I fear he will die of ſorrow, when he "hears of it." She added, that though ſhe had ſo long delayed the execution, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, ſhe was all along ſenſible of the neceſſity of it. In the ſame converſation, ſhe

[c] Camden, p. 536. Spotſwood, p. 358. [d] Camden, p. 538.

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blamed Drury and Paulet, that they had not before eaſed her of this trouble; and ſhe expreſſed her deſire, that Walſingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was ſo bent on this purpoſe, that, ſome time after, ſhe aſked Daviſon, Whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the ſervice expected of him? Daviſon ſhowed her Paulet's letter; in which that gentleman poſitively refuſed to act any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and juſtice. The queen fell into a paſſion; and accuſed Paulet, as well as Drury, of perjury; becauſe, having taken the oath of aſſociation, in which they had bound themſelves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refuſed to lend their hand on this occaſion. "But others," ſhe ſaid, "will be found leſs "ſcrupulous." Daviſon adds, that nothing but the conſent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to ſend off the warrant: He was well aware of his danger; and remembered, that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh [e].

ELIZABETH's diſſimulation was ſo groſs, that it could deceive no body, who was not previouſly reſolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more ſincere and cordial, he diſcovered the higheſt reſentment, and refuſed to admit Cary into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſadors from England; and ſeemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The States of Scotland being aſſembled, took part in his anger; and profeſſed, that they were ready to ſpend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of

[e] Camden, p. 538. Strype, vol. iii. p. 375, 376. MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 28. p. 17. from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9. Biogr. Brit. p. 1625. 1627.

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1569. his nobility inſtigated him to take arms: Lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, preſented himſelf to the king arrayed in complete armour, and ſaid, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin, which, from his mother's example, he might conclude, would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his perſon and his kingdom. The queen was ſenſible of the danger attending theſe counſels; and after allowing James ſome decent interval to vent his grief and anger, ſhe employed her emiſſaries to pacify him, and to ſet before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her.

WALSINGHAM wrote to lord Thirlſtone, James's ſecretary, a judicious letter to the ſame purpoſe. He ſaid, that he was much ſurprized to hear of the violent reſolutions taken in Scotland, and of the paſſion diſcovered by a prince of ſo much judgment and temper as James: That a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of juſtice which neceſſity had extorted, would for ever be expoſed to cenſure, and could not be excuſed by any principles of equity or reaſon: That if theſe views were deemed leſs momentous among princes, policy and intereſt ought certainly to be attended to; and theſe motives did ſtill more evidently oppoſe all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims to the Engliſh throne: That the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of ſucceſs, if he truſted merely to the force of his own ſtate, and had no recourſe to foreign powers for aſſiſtance: That the objections, attending the introduction of ſuccours from a more potent monarch, appeared ſo evident from all the tranſactions of hiſtory,

hiſtory, that they could not eſcape a perſon of the King's extenſive knowledge; but there were, in the preſent caſe, ſeveral peculiar circumſtances, which ought for ever to deter him from having recourſe to ſo dangerous an expedient: That the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, might willingly uſe the aſſiſtance of that kingdom againſt England; but would be diſpleaſed to ſee the union of theſe two kingdoms in the perſon of James; a union, which would ever after exclude him from practiſing that policy, formerly ſo uſeful to the French, and ſo pernicious to the Scottiſh, nation: That Henry beſides, infeſted with faction and domeſtic war, was not in a condition of ſupporting diſtant allies; much leſs would he expoſe himſelf to any hazard or expence, in order to aggrandize a near kinſman of the houſe of Guiſe, the moſt determined enemies of his repoſe and authority: That the extenſive power and exorbitant ambition of the Spaniſh monarch rendered him a ſtill more dangerous ally to Scotland; and as he evidently aſpired to an univerſal monarchy in the weſt, and had in particular advanced ſome claims to England, as if he were deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, he was at the ſame time the common enemy of all princes who wiſhed to maintain their independence; and the immediate rival and competitor of the king of Scots: That the queen, by her own naval power and her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably intercept all ſuccours which might be ſent to James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the controverſy in this iſland with the ſuperior forces of her own kingdom, oppoſed to thoſe of Scotland: That if the king revived his mother's pretenſions to the crown of England, he muſt alſo embrace her religion, by which alone they could be juſtified; and muſt thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning thoſe principles, in which he had been ſtrictly educated, and to which he had hitherto

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religiouſly adhered: That as he would, by ſuch an apoſtacy, totally alienate all the proteſtants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the catholics, who would ſtill entertain reaſonable doubts of his ſincerity: That by advancing a preſent claim to the crown he forfeited the certain proſpect of his ſucceſſion; and revived that national animoſity, which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguiſhed: That the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themſelves for the execution of the queen of Scots; and if James ſhewed ſuch violent reſentment againſt that act of juſtice, they would be obliged, for their own ſecurity, to prevent for ever ſo implacable a prince from ruling over them: And that, however ſome perſons might repreſent his honour as engaged to ſeek vengeance for the preſent affront and injury, the true honour of a prince conſiſted in wiſdom and moderation and juſtice, not in following the dictates of blind paſſion, or in purſuing revenge at the expence of every motive and every intereſt[f]. Theſe conſiderations, joined to the peaceable, unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his reſentment; and he fell gradually into a good correſpondence with the court of England. It is probable that the queen's chief object in her diſſimulation with regard to the execution of Mary, was, that ſhe might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his amity with her, on which their mutual intereſts ſo much depended.

WHILE Elizabeth enſured tranquillity from the attempts of her neareſt neighbour, ſhe was not negligent of more diſtant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though he ſeemed to diſſemble the daily inſults and injuries, which he received from the Engliſh, was ſecretly preparing a great navy to attack her; ſhe ſent Sir Francis Drake with

[f] Strype, vol. iii p. 377. Spotſwood.

a fleet

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a fleet to intercept his ſupplies, to pillage his coaſt, and to deſtroy his ſhipping. Drake carried out four capital ſhips of the queen's, and twenty-ſix great and ſmall, with which the London merchants, in hopes of ſharing in the plunder, had ſupplied him. Having learned from two Dutch ſhips, which he met with in his paſſage, that a Spaniſh fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to ſet ſail for Liſbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada; he bent his courſe to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged ſix gallies, which made head againſt him, to take ſhelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred veſſels, laden with ammunition and naval ſtores; and he deſtroyed a great ſhip of the marqueſs of Santa Croce. Thence he ſet ſail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by aſſault the caſtle ſituated on that promontory, with three other fortreſſes. He next inſulted Liſbon; and finding, that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were diſcontented at theſe military enterprizes, he ſet ſail for the Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich Carrack, which was expected in thoſe parts. He was ſo fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this ſhort expedition, in which the public bore ſo ſmall a ſhare, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterprizes, the Engliſh ſeamen learned to deſpiſe the great unwieldy ſhips of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were deſtroyed, the intended expedition againſt England was retarded a twelvemonth, and the queen thereby had leiſure to take more ſecure meaſures againſt that formidable invaſion[g].

Drake deſtroys the fleet at Cadiz.

THIS year Thomas Cavendiſh, a gentleman of Devonſhire, who had diſſipated a good eſtate by living at court,

g Camden, p. 540. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 156.

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being reſolved to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ſhips at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of ſixty, and a third of forty; and with theſe ſmall veſſels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen veſſels, ſome of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and ſoldiers were cloathed in ſilk, his ſails were of damaſk, his top-ſail cloth of gold; and his prizes were eſteemed the richeſt that ever had been brought into England [h].

THE land enterprizes of the Engliſh were not, during this campaign, ſo advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intruſted by Leiceſter to William Stanley, with a garriſon of twelve hundred Engliſh; and this gentleman being a catholic, was alarmed at the diſcovery of Babington's conſpiracy, and became apprehenſive, leſt every one of his religion ſhould thenceforth be treated with diſtruſt in England. He entered into a correſpondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a ſum of money, and engaged the whole garriſon to deſert with him to the Spaniſh ſervice. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly diſguſted with Leiceſter, and ſuſpicious of the Engliſh, broke out into loud complaints againſt the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his adminiſtation. Soon after, he himſelf arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was no-wiſe calculated to give them ſatisfaction, or to remove the ſuſpicions, which they had entertained againſt him. The prince of Parma having beſieged Sluys, Leiceſter attempted to relieve the place, firſt by ſea, then by land; but failed in both enterprizes;

[h] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 57.

and

and as he aſcribed his bad ſucceſs, to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: They ſlighted his authority, oppoſed his meaſures, and neglected his counſels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour, and by violence, to recover that influence, which he had loſt by his imprudent and ill-concerted meaſures. He was even ſuſpected by the Dutch of a deſign to uſurp upon their liberties; and the jealouſy entertained againſt him, began to extend towards the queen herſelf. That princeſs had made ſome advances towards a peace with Spain: A congreſs had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Graveline: And though the two courts, eſpecially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuſe each of them its enemy by negociation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined, on no terms, to return under the Spaniſh yoke, became apprehenſive leſt their liberty ſhould be ſacrificed to the political intereſts of England[1]. But the queen, who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the preſent conjuncture, was reſolved to give them entire ſatisfaction by recalling Leiceſter, and commanding him to reſign his government. Maurice, ſon of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the Engliſh forces. The meaſures of theſe two generals were much embarraſſed by the malignity of Leiceſter, who had left a faction behind him, and who ſtill attempted, by means of his emiſſaries, to diſturb all the operations of the States. As ſoon as Elizabeth received intelligence of theſe diſorders, ſhe took care to redreſs them; and ſhe obliged all the partizans of England to fall into

CHAP. XLI. 1587

1 Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4. Strype, vol. iv. N° 246.

unanimity

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1587. unanimity with prince Maurice [k]. But though her good ſenſe ſo far prevailed over her partiality to Leiceſter, ſhe never could be made fully ſenſible of his vices and incapacity: The ſubmiſſions, which he made her, reſtored him to her wonted favour; and Lord Buckhurſt, who had accuſed him of miſconduct in Holland, loſt her confidence, for ſome time, and was even committed to cuſtody.

Sir Chriſtopher Hatton was another favourite, who, at this time, received ſome marks of her partiality. Though he had never followed the profeſſion of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley, deceaſed; but notwithſtanding all the expectations and perhaps wiſhes of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high ſtation: His good natural capacity ſupplied the place of experience and ſtudy; and his deciſions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his abſence from court, while he attended the buſineſs of chancery, would gradually eſtrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

1588. These little intrigues and cabals of the court were ſilenced by the account which came from all quarters, of the vaſt preparations made by the Spaniards for the invaſion of England, and for the entire conqueſt of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hoſtilities which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a ſecret and violent deſire of revenge againſt her. His ambition alſo, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the preſent proſperous ſtate of his affairs; by the conqueſt of Portugal, the acquiſition of the Eaſt-

Philip projects the invaſion of England.

[k] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 66.

Indian

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Indian commerce and ſettlements, and the yearly importation of vaſt treaſures from America. The point, on which he reſted his higheſt glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to ſupport orthodoxy and exterminate hereſy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the proteſtants, he hoped, if he could ſubdue that princeſs, to acquire the eternal renown, of re-uniting the whole Chriſtian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation againſt his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands inſtigated him to attack the Engliſh, who had encouraged that inſurrection, and who, by their vicinity, were ſo well enabled to ſupport the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce theſe rebels, while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To ſubdue England ſeemed a neceſſary preparative to the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority in the Netherlands; and notwithſtanding appearances, the former was in itſelf, as a more important, ſo a more eaſy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more expoſed to invaſions from that quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty ſeemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art or nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military diſcipline and experience; and the catholics, in which it ſtill abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader, who ſhould free them from thoſe perſecutions under which they laboured, and ſhould revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England muſt be decided in one battle at ſea, and another at land; and what compariſon between the Engliſh and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies? Beſides the acquiſition of ſo great a kingdom, ſucceſs againſt

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againſt England enſured the immediate ſubjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all ſupport, muſt yield their ſtubborn necks to that yoke, which they had ſo long reſiſted. Happily this conqueſt, as it was of the utmoſt importance to the grandeur of Spain, would not at preſent be oppoſed by the jealouſy of other powers, naturally ſo much intereſted to prevent the ſucceſs of the enterprize. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the Empire was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was ſo torn with inteſtine commotions, that ſhe had no leiſure to pay attention to her foreign intereſts. This favourable opportunity, therefore, which might never again preſent itſelf, muſt be ſeized; and one bold effort made for acquiring that aſcendant in Europe, to which the preſent greatneſs and proſperity of the Spaniards ſeemed ſo fully to entitle them [l].

THESE hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithſtanding his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous enterprize; and though the prince, now created by the pope duke of Parma, when conſulted, oppoſed the attempt, at leaſt repreſented the neceſſity of previouſly getting poſſeſſion of ſome ſea-port town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spaniſh navy [m], it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of his ambitious project. During ſome time he had been ſecretly making preparations; but as ſoon as the reſolution was fully taken, every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of armaments, and all his miniſters, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the deſign. The marqueſs of Santa Croce, a ſea-officer of great reputation and experience,

[l] Camden. Strype, vol. iii. p. 512.

[m] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

was

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was deſtined to command the fleet; and by his counſels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were employed in building veſſels of uncommon ſize and force; naval ſtores were bought at a great expence; proviſions amaſſed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out ſuch a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no leſs formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment aſſembling, to reinforce the duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy: The marqueſs of Borgaut, a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, levied troops in Germany: The Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: The Spaniſh infantry was ſupplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thouſand men was aſſembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readineſs to be tranſported into England. The duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure, either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coaſts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk, and Newport, but eſpecially at Antwerp, a great number of boats and flat-bottomed veſſels, for the tranſporting of his infantry and cavalry. The moſt renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of ſharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Veſpaſian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Paſtrana, haſtened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thouſand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enliſted in the ſervice. No doubts were entertained, but ſuch vaſt preparations, conducted by officers of ſuch conſummate ſkill, muſt finally be ſucceſsful. And the Spaniards, oſtentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes,

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hopes, had already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*.

1588. NEWS of theſe extraordinary preparations ſoon reached the court of London; and notwithſtanding the ſecrecy of the Spaniſh council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was eaſily concluded, that they meant to make ſome effort againſt England. The queen had foreſeen the invaſion; and finding that ſhe muſt now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, ſhe made preparations for reſiſtance; nor was ſhe diſmayed with that power, by which, all Europe apprehended, ſhe muſt of neceſſity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed ſeemed very unequal to reſiſt ſo potent an enemy. All the ſailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thouſand men [n]. The ſize of the Engliſh ſhipping was, in general, ſo ſmall, that, except a few of the queen's ſhips of war, there were not four veſſels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons [o]. The royal navy conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſail [p], many of which were of ſmall ſize; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largeſt frigates, and moſt of them deſerved rather the name of pinnaces than of ſhips. The only advantage of the Engliſh fleet conſiſted in the dexterity and courage of the ſeamen, who, being accuſtomed to ſail in tempeſtuous ſeas, and expoſe themſelves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spaniſh mariners, as their veſſels were inferior in ſize and force to thoſe of that nation [q]. All the commercial towns of England were required to furniſh ſhips for re-inforcing this ſmall navy; and they diſcovered, on the preſent occaſion, great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion againſt thoſe imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in

Preparations in England.

[n] Monſon, p. 256. [o] Ibid. p. 268. [p] Ibid. p. 157.
[q] Ibid. p. 321.

order

order to ſhew their zeal in the common cauſe, inſtead of fifteen veſſels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number [r]. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ſhips at their own charge [s]; and all the loans of money, which the queen demanded, were frankly granted by the perſons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him. The principal fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth. A ſmaller ſquadron, conſiſting of forty veſſels, Engliſh and Flemiſh, was commanded by Lord Seymour, ſecond ſon of protector Somerſet; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

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THE land forces of England, compared to thoſe of Spain, poſſeſſed contrary qualities to its naval power: They were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in diſcipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thouſand men was diſpoſed in different bodies along the ſouth coaſt; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waſte the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, was ſtationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and was commanded by lord Hunſdon. Theſe forces were reſerved for guarding the queen's perſon; and were appointed to march whitherſoever the enemy ſhould appear. The fate of England, if all the Spaniſh armies ſhould be able to land, ſeemed to depend

[r] Monſon, p. 267. [s] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 451.

on

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on the iſſue of a ſingle battle; and men of reflection entertained the moſt diſmal apprehenſions, when they conſidered the force of fifty thouſand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the moſt conſummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power, which England, not enervated by peace, but long diſuſed to war, could muſter up againſt it.

The chief ſupport of the kingdom ſeemed to conſiſt in the vigour and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undiſmayed by the preſent dangers, iſſued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a ſteady reſiſtance, and employed every reſource, which either her domeſtic ſituation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She ſent Sir Robert Sidney into Scotland; and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to conſider the danger, which at preſent menaced his ſovereignty no leſs than her own, from the ambition of the Spaniſh tyrant[t]: The ambaſſador found James well diſpoſed to cultivate a union with England, and that prince even kept himſelf prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to ſeize a ſquadron of ſhips, which Philip had bought or hired in the Daniſh harbours[u]: The Hanſe Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced, by the ſame motives, to retard ſo long the equipment of ſome veſſels in their ports, that they became uſeleſs to the purpoſe of invading England. All the proteſtants throughout Europe regarded this enterprize as the critical event, which was to decide

[t] She made him ſome promiſes which ſhe never fulfilled, to give him a dukedom in England, with ſuitable lands and revenue, to ſettle 5000l. a year on him, and pay him a guard, for the ſafety of his perſon. From a MS. of lord Royſton's. [u] Strype, vol. iii. p. 524.

for

for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reaſon of their diſtance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance, with which ſhe encountered that dreadful tempeſt, which was every moment advancing towards her. CHAP. XLII. 1588.

THE queen alſo was ſenſible, that, next to the general popularity which ſhe enjoyed, and the confidence which her ſubjects repoſed in her prudent government, the firmeſt ſupport of her throne conſiſted in the general zeal of the people for the proteſtant religion, and the ſtrong prejudices which they had imbibed againſt popery. She took care, on the preſent occaſion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own ſect, and this abhorrence of the oppoſite. The Engliſh were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: All the barbarities, exerciſed by Mary againſt the proteſtants, were aſcribed to the counſels of that bigoted and imperious nation: The bloody maſſacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquiſition, were ſet before men's eyes: A liſt and deſcription was publiſhed, and pictures diſperſed, of the ſeveral inſtruments of torture with which, it was pretended, the Spaniſh Armada was loaded: And every artifice, as well as reaſon, was employed, to animate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

BUT while the queen, in this critical emergence, rouzed the animoſity of the nation againſt popery, ſhe treated the partizans of that ſect with moderation, and gave not way to an undiſtinguiſhing fury againſt them. Though ſhe knew, that Sixtus Quintus, the preſent pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication againſt her,

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had depoſed her, had abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, had publiſhed a cruſade againſt England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the preſent invaſion; ſhe would not believe that all her catholic ſubjects could be ſo blinded, as to ſacrifice to bigotry their duty to their ſovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent counſels, by which ſhe was urged to ſeek pretences for diſpatching the leaders of that party: She would not even confine any conſiderable number of them: And the catholics, ſenſible of this good uſage, generally expreſſed great zeal for the public ſervice. Some gentlemen of that ſect, conſcious that they could not juſtly expect any truſt or authority, entered themſelves as volunteers in the fleet or army [w]: Some equipped ſhips at their own charge, and gave the command of them to proteſtants: Others were active in animating their tenants, and vaſſals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country: And every rank of men, burying for the preſent all party diſtinctions, ſeemed to prepare themſelves, with order as well as vigour, to reſiſt the violence of theſe invaders.

THE more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, diſcovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the ſoldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and profeſſed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herſelf into the field againſt the enemy, and rather to periſh in battle than ſurvive the ruin and ſlavery of her people [x]. By this ſpirited behaviour ſhe revived the tenderneſs and admiration of the ſoldiery: An attachment to her perſon became a kind of enthuſiaſm among them: And they aſked one another, Whether it were poſſible, that Engliſhmen

[w] Stowe, p. 747.

[x] See note [BB] at the end of the volume.

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liſhmen could abandon this glorious cauſe, could diſplay leſs fortitude than appeared in the female ſex, or could ever, by any dangers, be induced to relinquiſh the defence of their heroic princeſs?

THE Spaniſh Armada was ready in the beginning of May, but the moment it was preparing to ſail, the marqueſs of Santa Croce, the admiral, was ſeized with a fever, of which he ſoon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a ſtrange concurrence of accidents, at the very ſame time, ſuffered the ſame fate; and the king appointed for admiral the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but unexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with ſea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, beſides the loſs of ſo great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the ſailing of the Armada, and gave the Engliſh more time for their preparations to oppoſe them. At laſt, the Spaniſh fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, ſet ſail from Liſbon; but next day met with a violent tempeſt, which ſcattered the ſhips, ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt, and forced the reſt to take ſhelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded, that the deſign of an invaſion was diſappointed for this ſummer; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for ſaving money, ſhe made Walſingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up ſome of the larger ſhips, and to diſcharge the ſeamen: But lord Effingham, who was not ſo ſanguine in his hopes, uſed the freedom to diſobey theſe orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ſhips in ſervice, though it ſhould be at his own expence [y]. He took advantage of a north wind, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours;

29th May.

[y] Camden, p. 545.

CHAP. XLI. 1588.

but the wind changing to the ſouth, he became apprehenſive, leſt they might have ſet ſail, and by paſſing him at ſea, invade England, now expoſed by the abſence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmoſt expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

MEANWHILE, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with freſh hopes ſet out again to ſea, in proſecution of their enterprize. The fleet conſiſted of a hundred and thirty veſſels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater ſize than any ever before uſed in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five ſoldiers, eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſix mariners, two thouſand and eighty-eight galley-ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty great pieces of braſs ordnance. It was victualled for ſix months; and was attended by twenty leſſer ſhips, called caravals, and ten ſalves with ſix oars apiece [a].

THE plan formed by the king of Spain was, that the Armada ſhould ſail to the coaſt oppoſite to Dunkirk and Newport; and having chaſed away all Engliſh or Flemiſh veſſels, which might obſtruct the paſſage (for it was never ſuppoſed they could make oppoſition), ſhould join themſelves with the duke of Parma, ſhould thence make ſail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spaniſh army, thus complete at one blow the entire conqueſt of England. In proſecution of this ſcheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that, in paſſing along the channel, he ſhould ſail as near the coaſt of France as he could with ſafety; that he ſhould by this policy avoid meeting with the Engliſh fleet; and keeping in view the main enterprize, ſhould neglect all ſmaller ſucceſſes, which might prove an obſtacle, or even interpoſe a delay, to the acquiſition of a kingdom [b]. After the Armada

[a] Strype, vol. iii. Append. p. 221. [b] Monſon, p. 157.

was

was under ſail, they took a fiſherman, who informed them, that the Engliſh admiral had been lately at ſea, had heard of the tempeſt which ſcattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and no longer expecting an invaſion this ſeaſon, had laid up his ſhips, and diſcharged moſt of the ſeamen. From this falſe intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and deſtroying the Engliſh ſhips in harbour; and he was tempted, by the proſpect of ſo deciſive an advantage, to break his orders, and make ſail directly for Plymouth: A reſolution which proved the ſafety of England. The Lizard was the firſt land made by the Armada, about ſun-ſet; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to ſea with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the Engliſh navy. They were deſcried by Fleming, a Scottiſh pirate, who was roving in thoſe ſeas, and who immediately ſet ſail, to inform the Engliſh admiral of their approach [c]: Another fortunate event, which contributed extremely to the ſafety of the fleet. Effingham had juſt time to get out of port, when he ſaw the Spaniſh Armada coming full ſail towards him, diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, and ſtretching the diſtance of ſeven miles from the extremity of one diviſion to that of the other.

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19th July. The Armada arrives in the Channel.

THE writers of that age raiſe their ſtile by a pompous deſcription of this ſpectacle; the moſt magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, infuſing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty maſts, the ſwelling ſails, and the towering prows of the Spaniſh galleons, ſeem impoſſible to be juſtly painted, but by aſſuming the colours of poetry; and an eloquent hiſtorian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has aſſerted, that the Armada, though the ſhips bore every

[c] Monſon, p. 158.

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ſail, yet advanced with a ſlow motion; as if the ocean groaned with ſupporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, ſo enormous a weight[d]. The truth, however, is, that the largeſt of the Spaniſh veſſels would ſcarcely paſs for third rates in the preſent navy of England; yet were they ſo ill framed, or ſo ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not ſail upon a wind, nor tack on occaſion, nor be managed in ſtormy weather by the ſeamen. Neither the mechanics of ſhip-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained ſo great perfection as could ſerve for the ſecurity and government of ſuch bulky veſſels; and the Engliſh, who had already had experience how unſerviceable they commonly were, beheld without diſmay their tremendous appearance.

EFFINGHAM gave orders not to come to cloſe fight with the Spaniards; where the ſize of the ſhips, he ſuſpected, and the numbers of the ſoldiers, would be a diſadvantage to the Engliſh; but to cannonade them at a diſtance, and to wait the opportunity, which winds, currents, or various accidents muſt afford him, of intercepting ſome ſcattered veſſels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event anſwered expectation. A great ſhip of Biſcay, on board of which was a conſiderable part of the Spaniſh money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguiſhing the flames, ſhe fell behind the reſt of the Armada: The great galleon of Andaluzia was detained by the ſpringing of her maſt: And both theſe veſſels were taken, after ſome reſiſtance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the Engliſh hung upon its rear, and ſtill infeſted it with ſkirmiſhes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the Engliſh; and the latter ſoon found, that

[d] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

even

even in cloſe fight the ſize of the Spaniſh ſhips was no advantage to them. Their bulk expoſed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, ſhot over the heads of the Engliſh. The alarm having now reached the coaſt of England, the nobility and gentry haſtened out with their veſſels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavaſor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, with many others, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this generous and diſintereſted ſervice of their country. The Engliſh fleet, after the conjunction of thoſe ſhips, amounted to a hundred and forty ſail. CHAP. XLII. 1588.

THE Armada had now reached Calais, and caſt anchor before that place; in expectation, that the duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to ſea, and join his forces to them. The Engliſh admiral practiſed here a ſucceſsful ſtratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and filling them with all combuſtible materials, ſent them, one after another, into the midſt of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied, that they were fireſhips of the ſame contrivance with a famous veſſel, which had lately done ſo much execution in the Schelde near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greateſt diſorder and precipitation. The Engliſh fell upon them next morning, while in confuſion; and beſides doing great damage to other ſhips, they took or deſtroyed about twelve of the enemy.

BY this time, it was become apparent, that the intention, for which theſe preparations were made by the Spaniards, was entirely fruſtrated. The veſſels, provided by the duke of Parma, were made for tranſporting ſoldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged

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1588. to leave the harbour, positively refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many rencounters, that, while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the offices in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The duke of Medina had once taken that resolution; but was diverted from it by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprize would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved almost equally fatal to the

Defeated. Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: The ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep to sea: The mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen, as well as soldiers, who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them.

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SUCH was the miſerable and diſhonourable concluſion of an enterprize which had been preparing for three years, which had exhauſted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a ſlave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no ſooner heard of the mortifying event which blaſted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious diſpenſation of Providence, expreſſed his joy, that the calamity was not greater. The Spaniſh prieſts, who had ſo often bleſt this holy cruſade, and foretold its infallible ſucceſs, were ſomewhat at a loſs to account for the victory gained over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable uſurper: But they at laſt diſcovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them [e].

1589. 4th Feb.

SOON after the defeat and diſperſion of the Spaniſh Armada, the queen ſummoned a new parliament; and received from them a ſupply of two ſubſidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the firſt inſtance that ſubſidies were doubled in one ſupply; and ſo unuſual a conceſſion was probably obtained from the joy of the preſent ſucceſs, and from the general ſenſe of the queen's neceſſities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burthen of loans which had lately been impoſed upon the nation [f].

A parliament.

ELIZABETH foreſaw, that this houſe of commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the puritans; and therefore, to obviate their enterprizes, ſhe renewed, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, her uſual injunction, that the parliament ſhould not, on any account, preſume to

[e] See note [CC] at the end of the volume.

[f] See note [DD] at the end of the volume.

treat

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1589. treat of matters eccleſiaſtical. Notwithſtanding this ſtrict inhibition, the zeal of one Damport moved him to preſent a bill to the commons for remedying ſpiritual grievances, and for reſtraining the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which were certainly great: But when Mr. Secretary Woley reminded the houſe of her majeſty's commands, no one durſt ſecond the motion; the bill was not ſo much as read; and the ſpeaker returned it to Damport, without taking the leaſt notice of it[g]. Some members of the houſe, notwithſtanding the general ſubmiſſion, were even committed to cuſtody on account of this attempt[h].

THE imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared ſtill more clearly in another parliamentary tranſaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleaſure take proviſions for the houſehold from all the neighbouring counties, and could make uſe of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of theſe commodities and ſervices was fixed and ſtated. The payment of the money was often diſtant and uncertain; and the rates, being fixed before the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, were much inferior to the preſent market price; ſo that purveyance, beſides the ſlavery of it, was always regarded as a great burthen, and being arbitrary and caſual, was liable to great abuſes. We may fairly preſume, that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, ſupported by her unlimited power, would be ſure to render this prerogative very oppreſſive to the people; and the commons had, laſt ſeſſion, found it neceſſary to paſs a bill for regulating theſe exactions: But the bill was loſt in the houſe of peers[i]. The continuance of the abuſes begat a new attempt for redreſs; and the ſame bill was now revived, and again ſent up to the houſe of peers, together with a

g D'Ewes, p. 438. h Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 280. Neal, vol. i. p. 500. i D'Ewes, p. 434.

bill

bill for ſome new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after the commons received a meſſage from the upper houſe, deſiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the peers informed them, that the queen, by a meſſage, delivered by lord Burleigh, had expreſſed her diſpleaſure, that the commons ſhould preſume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuſes, ſhe ſaid, either in impoſing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majeſty was both able and willing to provide due reformation; but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in theſe matters[k]. The commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavour to ſatisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee: She expreſſed her great *ineſtimable loving care* towards her loving ſubjects; which, ſhe ſaid, was greater than of her own ſelf, or even than any of them could have of themſelves. She told them, that ſhe had already given orders for an enquiry into the abuſes attending purveyance, but the dangers of the Spaniſh invaſion had retarded the progreſs of the deſign; that ſhe had as much ſkill, will, and power to rule her houſehold as any ſubjects whatſoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the aſſiſtance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, conſequently more near to her than even her houſehold, and therefore the leſs proper for them to intermeddle with; and that ſhe would of herſelf, with advice of her council and the judges, redreſs every grievance in theſe matters, but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending theſe regulations[l]. The iſſue of this matter was the ſame that attended all conteſts between Elizabeth and her parliaments[m]. She

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[k] D'Ewes, p. 440.
[l] Ibid. p. 444.
[m] *Si rixa eſt, ubi tu pulſas, ego vapulo tantum.* Juv.

ſeems

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ſeems even to have been more imperious, in this particular, than her predeceſſors; at leaſt, her more remote ones: For they often permitted the abuſes of purveyance[n] to be redreſſed by law[o]. Edward III. a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten ſeveral ſtatutes to be enacted for that purpoſe.

In ſo great awe did the commons ſtand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durſt uſe no freedom of ſpeech, which, they thought, would give the leaſt offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby ſhewed in the houſe his extreme grief, that, by ſome great perſonage, not a member of the houſe, he had been ſharply rebuked for ſpeeches delivered in parliament: He craved the favour of the houſe, and deſired that ſome of the members might inform that great perſonage of his true meaning and intention in theſe ſpeeches[p]. The commons, to obviate theſe inconveniences, paſſed a vote, that no one ſhould reveal the ſecrets of the houſe[q].

The diſcomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation a kind of enthuſiaſtic paſſion for enterprizes againſt Spain; and nothing ſeemed now impoſſible to be atchieved by the valour and fortune of the Engliſh. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, truſting to the averſion of his countrymen againſt the Caſtilians, had advanced a claim to the crown; and flying firſt to France, thence to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretenſions. A deſign was formed by the people, not the court, of England, to conquer the kingdom for Don Antonio: Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprize: Near twenty

Expedition againſt Portugal.

[n] See note [EE] at the end of the volume. [o] See the ſtatutes under this head of purveyance. [p] D'Ewes, p. 432, 433.

[q] An act was paſſed this ſeſſion, enforcing the former ſtatute, which impoſed twenty pounds a month on every one abſent from public worſhip: But the penalty was reſtricted to two-thirds of the income of the recuſant. 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

thouſand

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thouſand volunteers[r] enliſted themſelves in the ſervice: And ſhips were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than ſixty thouſand pounds to the expence; and ſhe only allowed ſix of her ſhips of war to attend the expedition[s]. There was more ſpirit and bravery, than foreſight or prudence, in the conduct of this enterprize. The ſmall ſtock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either proviſions or ammunition ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking: They even wanted veſſels to ſtow the numerous volunteers who crowded to them; and they were obliged to ſeize by force ſome ſhips of the Hanſe Towns, which they met with at ſea: An expedient, which ſet them ſomewhat more at eaſe in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their proviſions[t]. Had they ſailed directly to Portugal, it is believed, that the good-will of the people, joined to the defenceleſs ſtate of the country, might have enſured them of ſucceſs: But hearing, that great preparations were making at the Groine for the invaſion of England, they were induced to go thither, and deſtroy this new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour, burned ſome ſhips of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated an army of four or five thouſand men, which was aſſembled to oppoſe them; they aſſaulted the Groine, and took the lower town, which they pillaged; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and proviſions beginning to fail them. The young earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of promiſing hopes, who, fired with the thirſt of

[r] Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 61. Monſon, p. 267. ſays, that there were only fourteen thouſand ſoldiers and four thouſand ſeamen in the whole on this expedition: But the account contained in Dr. Birch, is given by one of the moſt conſiderable of the adventurers.

[s] Monſon, p. 267. [t] Ibid. p. 159.

military

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military honour, had ſecretly, unknown to the queen, ſtolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by common conſent to make ſail for Portugal, the main object of their enterprize.

THE Engliſh landed at Paniche, a ſea-port town, twelve leagues from Liſbon; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to ſail up the river, and attack the city with united forces. By this time the court of Spain had gotten leiſure to prepare againſt the invaſion. Forces were thrown into Liſbon: The Portugueſe were diſarmed: All ſuſpected perſons were taken into cuſtody: And thus, though the inhabitants bore great affection to Don Antonio, none of them durſt declare in favour of the invaders. The Engliſh army, however, made themſelves maſters of the ſuburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but as they deſired to conciliate the affections of the Portugueſe, and were more intent on honour than profit, they obſerved a ſtrict diſcipline, and abſtained from all plunder. Meanwhile, they found their ammunition and proviſions much exhauſted; they had not a ſingle cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to paſs ſome fortreſſes, which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an inſurrection in their favour; ſickneſs, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had ſeized the army: So that it was found neceſſary to make all poſſible haſte to reimbark. They were not purſued by the enemy; and finding, at the mouth of the river, ſixty ſhips laden with naval ſtores, they ſeized them as lawful prize; though they belonged to the Hanſe Towns, a neutral power. They ſailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the country around, they ſet ſail and arrived in England. Above half of theſe gallant adventurers periſhed by ſickneſs, famine, fatigue, and the ſword[u];

[u] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61.

and

and England reaped more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterprize. It is computed, that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty ſurvived thoſe multiplied diſaſters[x]. CHAP. XLII. 1589.

WHEN theſe ſhips were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of ſeven ſail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ſhip of war, which the queen had lent him. That nobleman ſupplied Sir Francis Drake with ſome proviſions; a generoſity which ſaved the lives of many of Drake's men, but for which the others afterwards ſuffered ſeverely. Cumberland ſailed towards the Terceras, and took ſeveral prizes from the enemy; but the richeſt, valued at a hundred thouſand pounds, periſhed in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwal. Many of theſe adventurers were killed in a raſh attempt at the Terceras; A great mortality ſeized the reſt: And it was with difficulty that the few hands, which remained, were able to ſteer the ſhips back into harbour[y].

Affairs of Scotland.

THOUGH the ſignal advantages, gained over the Spaniards, and the ſpirit thence infuſed into the Engliſh, gave Elizabeth great ſecurity during the reſt of her reign, ſhe could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whoſe ſituation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected, that this high-ſpirited princeſs, who knew ſo well to brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealouſy towards her heir, with which, during the life-time of Mary, ſhe had been ſo much agitated. James had indeed ſucceeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not ſucceeded to the favour of the catholics, which

[x] Birch's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 61. [y] Monſon, p. 161.

could

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1589. could alone render theſe claims dangerous[z]: And as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncontrouled authority over her ſubjects, it was not likely that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any diſturbance in her poſſeſſion of the throne. Yet all theſe circumſtances could not remove her timorous ſuſpicions: And ſo far from ſatisfying the nation by a ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, or a declaration of James's title, ſhe was as anxious to prevent every incident which might anywiſe raiſe his credit, or procure him the regard of the Engliſh, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Moſt of his miniſters and favourites were her penſioners; and as ſhe was deſirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, ſhe obliged them to throw obſtacles in the way of every alliance, even the moſt reaſonable, which could be offered him; and during ſome years, ſhe ſucceeded in this malignant policy[a]. He had fixed on the elder daughter of the king of Denmark, who, being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did ſhe ſo artfully croſs this negociation, that the Daniſh monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunſwick. James then renewed his ſuit to the younger princeſs; and ſtill found obſtacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interpoſing delay, propoſed to him the ſiſter of the king of Navarre, a princeſs much older than himſelf, and entirely deſtitute of fortune. The young king, beſides the deſire of ſecuring himſelf, by the proſpect of iſſue, from thoſe traiterous attempts, too frequent among his ſubjects, had been ſo watched by the rigid auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not ſo uſual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all

[z] Winwood, vol. i. p. 41. [a] Melvil, p. 166. 177.

the

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the politics of Elizabeth: The articles of marriage were ſettled: The ceremony was performed by proxy: And the princeſs embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a ſtorm into a port of Norway. This tempeſt, and ſome others, which happened near the ſame time, were univerſally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottiſh and Daniſh witches; and the dying confeſſion of the criminals was ſuppoſed to put the accuſation beyond all controverſy [b]. James, however, though a great believer in ſorcery, was not deterred, by this incident, from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: He arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and having paſſed the winter in that city, he brought her next ſpring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made oppoſition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which, they alleged, was either a Jewiſh or a popiſh rite; and therefore utterly antichriſtian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony, as they were averſe to it; and after much controverſy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at laſt prevailed over their oppoſition [c].

[b] Melvil, p. 180. [c] Spotſwood, p. 381.

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French affairs — Murder of the duke of Guiſe — Murder of Henry III. *— Progreſs of Henry* IV. *— Naval enterprizes againſt Spain — A parliament — Henry* IV. *embraces the catholic religion — Scotch affairs — Naval enterprizes — A parliament — Peace of Vervins — The earl of Eſſex.*

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AFTER a ſtate of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached a ſituation where, though her affairs ſtill required attention, and found employment for her active ſpirit, ſhe was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with ſome degree of confidence and ſecurity. Her ſucceſsful and prudent adminiſtration had gained her, together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own ſubjects; and after the death of the queen of Scots, even the catholics, however diſcontented, pretended not to diſpute her title, or adhere to any other perſon as her competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and eccleſiaſtics, poſſeſſed at home very little authority; and was ſolicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the Engliſh nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would ſecure him that rich ſucceſſion to which his birth entitled him. The Hollanders, though overmatched in their conteſt with Spain, ſtill made an obſtinate reſiſtance; and ſuch was their unconquerable antipathy to their old maſters, and ſuch the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that the ſubduing

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of that ſmall territory, if at all poſſible, muſt be the work of years, and the reſult of many and great ſucceſſes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort againſt England, had been tranſported by reſentment and ambition beyond his uſual cautious maxims, was now diſabled, and ſtill more diſcouraged, from adventuring again on ſuch hazardous enterprizes. The ſituation alſo of affairs in France began chiefly to employ his attention; but notwithſtanding all his artifice, and force, and expence, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more favourable to the friends and confederates of England.

French affairs.

THE violence of the league having conſtrained Henry to declare war againſt the Hugonots, theſe religioniſts ſeemed expoſed to the utmoſt danger; and Elizabeth, ſenſible of the intimate connection between her own intereſts and thoſe of that party, had ſupported the king of Navarre by her negociations in Germany, and by large ſums of money, which ſhe remitted for levying forces in that country. This great prince, not diſcouraged by the ſuperiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587 gained at Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the ſame time diſcomfited by the army of the league, under the duke of Guiſe, his ſituation, notwithſtanding his victory, ſeemed ſtill as deſperate as ever. The chief advantage which he reaped by this diverſity of ſucceſs, aroſe from the diſſentions which, by that means, took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guiſe, and ſtrongly prejudiced againſt their king, whoſe intentions had become ſuſpicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his ſafety. That prince, diſſembling his reſentment, entered into a negociation with the league; and having conferred many high offices on Guiſe and his

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partizans, ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates at Blois, on pretence of finding expedients to ſupport the intended war againſt the Hugonots. The various ſcenes of perfidy and cruelty, which had been exhibited in France, had juſtly begotten a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet Guiſe, truſting more to the timidity than honour of the king, raſhly put himſelf into the hands of that monarch, and expected, by the aſcendant of his own genius, to make him ſubmit to all his exorbitant pretenſions. Henry, though of an eaſy diſpoſition, not ſteady to his reſolutions, or even to his promiſes, wanted neither courage nor capacity; and finding all his ſubtilties eluded by the vigour of Guiſe, and even his throne expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, he embraced more violent counſels than were natural to him, and ordered that prince and his brother, the cardinal of Guiſe, to be aſſaſſinated in his palace.

Murder of the duke of Guiſe.

THIS cruel execution, which the neceſſity of it alone could excuſe, had nearly proved fatal to the author, and ſeemed at firſt to plunge him into greater dangers than thoſe which he ſought to avoid, by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partizans of the league were inflamed with the utmoſt rage againſt him: The populace every where, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him: The eccleſiaſtics and the preachers filled all places with execrations againſt his name: And the moſt powerful cities and moſt opulent provinces appeared to combine in a reſolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding ſlender reſources among his catholic ſubjects, was conſtrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre: He enliſted large bodies of Swiſs infantry and German cavalry: And being ſtill ſupported by his chief nobility, he aſſembled, by all theſe means, an army of near forty thouſand men, and advanced to the gates of

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Paris, ready to cruſh the league, and ſubdue all his enemies. The deſperate reſolution of one man diverted the courſe of theſe great events. Jaques Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody ſpirit of bigotry which diſtinguiſhes this century, and a great part of the following, beyond all ages of the world, embraced the reſolution of ſacrificing his own life, in order to ſave the church from the perſecutions of a heretical tyrant; and being admitted, under ſome pretext, to the king's preſence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who haſtily revenged the murder of their ſovereign. This memorable incident happened on the firſt of Auguſt, 1589.

Murder of Henry the third.

THE king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, aſſumed the government, by the title of Henry IV. but ſucceeded to much greater difficulties than thoſe which ſurrounded his predeceſſor. The prejudices entertained againſt his religion, made a great part of the nobility immediately deſert him; and it was only by his promiſe of hearkening to conferences and inſtruction, that he could engage any of the catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guiſe, gathered new force; and the king of Spain entertained views, either of diſmembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, Henry addreſſed himſelf to Elizabeth, and found her well diſpoſed to contribute to his aſſiſtance, and to oppoſe the progreſs of the catholic league, and of Philip her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the deſertion of his Swiſs and German auxiliaries, ſhe made him a preſent of twenty-two thouſand pounds; a greater ſum than, as he declared, he had ever ſeen before: And ſhe ſent him a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined

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1590. the French at Dieppe. Strengthened by theſe ſupplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and having taken the ſuburbs ſword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. He employed this body of Engliſh in many other enterprizes; and ſtill found reaſon to praiſe their courage and fidelity. The time of their ſervice being elapſed, he diſmiſſed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Baſkerville, and Sir John Boroughs acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of Engliſh valour.

Progreſs of Henry the Fourth.

THE army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was compoſed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvrée, and he gained a complete victory over them. This ſucceſs enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the laſt extremity of famine: When the duke of Parma, in conſequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raiſe the blockade. Having performed this important ſervice, he retreated to the Low Countries; and, by his conſummate ſkill in the art of war, performed theſe long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he ſought, of giving him battle, or ſo much as once putting his army in diſorder. The only loſs which he ſuſtained was in the Low Countries; where prince Maurice took advantage of his abſence, and recovered ſome places which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States [d].

1591. THE ſituation of Henry's affairs, though promiſing, was not ſo well advanced or eſtabliſhed as to make the queen diſcontinue her ſuccours; and ſhe was ſtill more confirmed in the reſolution of ſupporting him, by ſome

[d] See note [FF] at the end of the volume.

advantages

advantages gained by the king of Spain. The duke of Mercœur, governor of Britanny, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and finding himſelf hard preſſed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to ſecure himſelf, to introduce ſome Spaniſh troops into the ſea-port towns of that province. Elizabeth was alarmed at the danger; and foreſaw, that the Spaniards, beſides infeſting the Engliſh commerce by privateers, might employ theſe harbours as the ſeat of their naval preparations, and might more eaſily, from that vicinity, than from Spain or Portugal, project an invaſion of England. She concluded, therefore, a new treaty with Henry, in which ſhe engaged to ſend over three thouſand men, to be employed in the reduction of Britanny, and ſhe ſtipulated that her charges ſhould, in a twelvemonth, or as ſoon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her [e]. Theſe forces were commanded by Sir John Norris, and under him by his brother Henry, and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a ſmall body which garriſoned Dieppe: And a ſquadron of ſhips, under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coaſt of France, and intercepted all the veſſels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers. CHAP. XLIII. 1591.

The operations of war can very little be regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it neceſſary to lay aſide the projected enterprize againſt Britanny, perſuaded the Engliſh commanders to join his army, and to take a ſhare in the hoſtilities which he carried into Picardy [f]. Notwithſtanding the diſguſt which Elizabeth received from this diſappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and perſuaded her to ſend over a new body of four thouſand men, to aſſiſt him in that enter-

[e] Camden, p. 561. [f] Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 116.

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prize. The earl of Eſſex was appointed general of theſe forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accompliſhments, and ſtill more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and ſeemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leiceſter, now deceaſed, had ſo long enjoyed. Eſſex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneaſy to lie ſome time at Dieppe unemployed; and had not the orders which he received from his miſtreſs been ſo poſitive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne. This plan of operations was alſo propoſed to Elizabeth by the French ambaſſador; but ſhe rejected it with great diſpleaſure; and ſhe threatened immediately to recal her troops, if Henry ſhould perſevere any longer in his preſent practice, of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own intereſts[g]. Urged by theſe motives, the French king, at laſt, led his army into Normandy, and laid ſiege to Roüen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themſelves to take the field againſt him, had again recourſe to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprize with his uſual abilities and ſucceſs; and, for the preſent, fruſtrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princeſs, who kept ſtill in view the intereſts of her own kingdom in all her foreign tranſactions, was impatient, under theſe diſappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained, that the Engliſh forces were thruſt foremoſt in every hazardous enterprize[h]. It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in ſo celebrated a theatre of war, were the cauſes why they ſo often enjoyed this perilous honour.

[g] Birch's Negociations, p. 5. Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 123. 140.

[h] Camden, p. 562.

NOTWITH-

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NOTWITHSTANDING the indifferent ſucceſs of former enterprizes, the queen was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to ſupport Henry againſt the league and the Spaniards; and ſhe formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip, but by common conſent; *ſhe* promiſed to ſend him a new ſupply of four thouſand men; and *he* ſtipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ theſe forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition againſt Britanny, and to conſign into her hands a ſea-port town of that province, for a retreat to the Engliſh [i]. Henry knew the impoſſibility of executing ſome of theſe articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but finding them rigidly inſiſted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her ſuccours, and truſted that he might eaſily, on ſome pretence, be able to excuſe his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the leaſt ſucceſsful of all thoſe which he had yet carried on againſt the league.

Naval enterprizes againſt Spain.

DURING theſe military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power againſt Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his Weſt-Indian treaſures, the ſource of that greatneſs which rendered him ſo formidable to all his neighbours. She ſent a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, for this ſervice; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpoſe, fitted out a great force, of fifty-five ſail, and diſpatched them to eſcort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the Engliſh ſquadron; and, by the courageous obſtinacy of Sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who refuſed to make his eſcape by flight, they took one veſſel, the firſt Engliſh ſhip of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards [k]. The reſt of the ſquadron returned ſafely into England; fruſtrated of their expectations, but

[i] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 151. 168. 171, 173.

[k] See note [GG] at the end of the volume.

pleaſing

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pleaſing themſelves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitleſs in hurting the enemy. The
1591. Indian fleet had been ſo long detained in the Havanna, from the fear of the Engliſh, that they were obliged at laſt to ſet ſail in an improper ſeaſon, and moſt of them periſhed by ſhipwreck, ere they reached the Spaniſh harbours [l]. The earl of Cumberland made a like unſucceſsful enterprize againſt the Spaniſh trade. He carried out one ſhip of the queen's, and ſeven others equipped at his own expence; but the prizes which he made did not compenſate the charges [m].

THE ſpirit of theſe expenſive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, finding his intereſt to decline, determined to recover her good graces by ſome important undertaking; and as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he perſuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers, in an attempt
1592. on the Weſt Indies. The fleet was detained ſo long in the Channel by contrary winds, that the ſeaſon was loſt: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: Sir Martin Frobiſher ſucceeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage againſt the Spaniards. He took one rich Carrack near the Iſland of Flores, and deſtroyed another [n]. About the ſame time, Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spaniſh ſhips, which, beſides fourteen hundred cheſts of quickſilver, contained above two millions of bulls for indulgences; a commodity uſeleſs to the Engliſh, but which had coſt the king of Spain three hundred thouſand florins, and would have been ſold by him in the Indies for five millions.

THIS war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with conſiderable expence to England; and Eli-

l Monſon, p. 163. Camden, p. 563.
m Ibid. p. 169.
n Ibid. p. 165.

zabeth's

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zabeth's miniſters computed, that ſince the commencement of it, ſhe had ſpent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thouſand pounds [a]; a charge which, notwithſtanding her extreme frugality, was too burthenſome for her narrow revenues to ſupport. She ſummoned therefore a parliament, in order to obtain ſupply: But ſhe either thought her authority ſo eſtabliſhed, that ſhe needed to make them no conceſſions in return, or ſhe rated her power and prerogative above money: For there never was any parliament whom ſhe treated in a more haughty manner, whom ſhe made more ſenſible of their own weakneſs, or whoſe privileges ſhe more openly violated. When the ſpeaker, Sir Edward Coke, made the three uſual requeſts, of freedom from arreſts, of acceſs to her perſon, and of liberty of ſpeech, ſhe replied to him, by the mouth of Puckering, lord keeper, that liberty of ſpeech was granted to the commons, but they muſt know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for every one to ſpeak what he liſteth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of Aye or No: That ſhe enjoined the ſpeaker, if he perceived any idle heads ſo negligent of their own ſafety, as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he ſhould refuſe the bills exhibited for that purpoſe, till they were examined by ſuch as were fitter to conſider of theſe things, and could better judge of them: That ſhe would not impeach the freedom of their perſons; but they muſt beware, leſt, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: And that ſhe would not refuſe them acceſs to her perſon, provided it were upon urgent and weighty cauſes, and at times con-

1593. Feb. 19. A parliament.

[a] Strype, vol. iii.

venient,

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venient, and when ſhe might have leiſure from other important affairs of the realm [p].

1593. NOTWITHSTANDING the menacing and contemptuous air of this ſpeech, the intrepid and indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not diſcouraged by his former ill ſucceſs, ventured to tranſgreſs the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He preſented to the lord keeper a petition, in which he deſired the upper houſe to join with the lower in a ſupplication to her majeſty for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown; and he declared that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpoſe. This method of proceeding was ſufficiently reſpectful and cautious; but the ſubject was always extremely diſagreeable to the queen, and what ſhe had expreſsly prohibited any one from meddling with: She ſent Wentworth immediately to the Tower; committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had ſeconded him, to the Fleet priſon, together with Stevens and Welſh, two members, to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention [q]. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the houſe, to petition the queen for the releaſe of theſe members; but it was anſwered by all the privy-counſellors there preſent, that her majeſty had committed them for cauſes beſt known to herſelf, and that to preſs her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to ſerve: She would releaſe them whenever ſhe thought proper, and would be better pleaſed to do it of her own proper motion, than from their ſuggeſtion [r]. The houſe willingly acquieſced in this reaſoning,

So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the ſeſſion, might well repreſs all farther attempts for freedom: But the religious zeal of the puritans was not ſo eaſily reſtrained; and it inſpired a courage which no human

[p] D'Ewes, p. 460. 469. Townſend, p. 37. [q] D'Ewes, p. 470. Townſend, p. 54. [r] D'Ewes, p. 497.

motive

motive was able to ſurmount. Morrice, chancellor of the dutchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redreſſing the abuſes in the biſhops' courts, but, above all, in the high commiſſion; where ſubſcriptions, he ſaid, were exacted to articles at the pleaſure of the prelates; where oaths were impoſed, obliging perſons to anſwer to all queſtions, without diſtinction, even though they ſhould tend to their own condemnation; and where every one, who refuſed entire ſatisfaction to the commiſſioners, was impriſoned, without relief or remedy[s]. This motion was ſeconded by ſome members; but the miniſters and privy-counſellors oppoſed it, and foretold the conſequences which enſued. The queen ſent for the ſpeaker; and, after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, ſhe told him, that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to diſſolve them, in her power to give aſſent or diſſent to any determination which they ſhould form: That her purpoſe in ſummoning this parliament was twofold, to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation againſt the exorbitant power of Spain: That theſe two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: She had enjoined them already, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of ſtate nor of religion; and ſhe wondered how any one could be ſo aſſuming, as to attempt a ſubject ſo expreſsly contrary to her prohibition: That ſhe was highly offended with this preſumption; and took the preſent opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either ſtate affairs, or reformation in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, be exhibited in the houſe: And that, in particular, ſhe charged the ſpeaker upon his allegiance, if any ſuch bills were offered, abſolutely to refuſe them a reading, and not ſo much as permit them to be debated by the members.

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[s] D'Ewes, p. 474. Townſend, p. 60.

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bers [t]. This command from the queen was ſubmitted to without farther queſtion. Morrice was ſeized in the houſe itſelf by a ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profeſſion as a common lawyer, and kept ſome years priſoner in Tilbury caſtle [u].

THE queen having thus expreſsly pointed out both what the houſe ſhould and ſhould not do, the commons were as obſequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They paſſed a law againſt recuſants; ſuch a law as was ſuited to the ſevere character of Elizabeth, and to the perſecuting ſpirit of the age. It was intitled, *An Act to retain her majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience*; and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate ſuch inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of ſeditious ſectaries and diſloyal perſons: For theſe two ſpecies of criminals were always, at that time, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of ſociety. It was enacted, that any perſon, above ſixteen years of age, who obſtinately refuſed, during the ſpace of a month, to attend public worſhip, ſhould be committed to priſon; that if, after being condemned for this offence, he perſiſt three months in his refuſal, he muſt abjure the realm; and that if he either refuſe this condition, or return after baniſhment, he ſhould ſuffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy [x]. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics; and, had it not been impoſed by the queen's authority, was certainly, in that reſpect, much contrary to the private ſentiments and inclinations of the majority in the houſe of commons. Very little oppoſition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it [y].

THE

[t] D'Ewes, p. 474. 478. Townſend, p. 68. [u] Heylin's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 320. [x] 35 Eliz. c. 1.

[y] After enacting this ſtatute, the clergy, in order to remove the odium from themſelves, often took care that recuſants ſhould be tried by the civil judges

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1593.

THE expences of the war with Spain having reduced the queen to great difficulties, the grant of ſubſidies ſeems to have been the moſt important buſineſs of this parliament; and it was a ſignal proof of the high ſpirit of Elizabeth, that, while conſcious of a preſent dependence on the commons, ſhe opened the ſeſſion with the moſt haughty treatment of them, and covered her weakneſs under ſuch a lofty appearance of ſuperiority. The commons readily voted two ſubſidies and four fifteenths; but this ſum not appearing ſufficient to the court, an unuſual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their conceſſions. The peers informed the commons in a conference, that they could not give their aſſent to the ſupply voted, thinking it too ſmall for the queen's occaſions: They therefore propoſed a grant of three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths; and deſired a farther conference, in order to perſuade the commons to agree to this meaſure. The commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of ſubſidy, took offence at this procedure of the lords, and at firſt abſolutely rejected the propoſal: But being afraid, on reflection, that they had, by this refuſal, given offence to their ſuperiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional ſubſidy [z].

THE queen, notwithſtanding this unuſual conceſſion of the commons, ended the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, containing ſome reprimands to them, and full of the ſame high pretenſions which ſhe had aſſumed at the opening of the parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the keeper, that certain members ſpent more time than was neceſſary, by indulging themſelves in harangues and reaſonings: And ſhe expreſſed her diſpleaſure on account of their not

judges at the aſſizes, rather than by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners. Strype's Ann. vol. iv. p. 264.

[z] D'Ewes, p. 483. 487, 488. Townſend, p. 66.

paying

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paying due reverence to privy-counſellors, "who," ſhe told them, "were not to be accounted as common knights "and burgeſſes of the houſe, who are counſellors but "during the parliament: Whereas the others are ſtand-"ing counſellors, and for their wiſdom and great ſervice "are called to the council of the ſtate [a]." The queen alſo, in her own perſon, made the parliament a ſpirited harangue; in which ſhe ſpoke of the juſtice and moderation of her government, expreſſed the ſmall ambition ſhe had ever entertained of making conqueſts, diſplayed the juſt grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and diſcovered how little ſhe apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he ſhould make a greater effort againſt her than that of his Invincible Armada. "But I "am informed," added ſhe, "that when he attempted "this laſt invaſion, ſome upon the ſea-coaſt forſook their "towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all "naked and expoſed to his entrance: But I ſwear unto "you, by God, if I knew thoſe perſons, or may know "of any that ſhall do ſo hereafter, I will make them feel "what it is to be ſo fearful in ſo urgent a cauſe [b]." By this menace, ſhe probably gave the people to underſtand, that ſhe would execute martial law upon ſuch cowards: For there was no ſtatute by which a man could be puniſhed for changing his place of abode.

THE king of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained conſiderable advantages over them, and though he was aſſiſted by a conſiderable body of Engliſh under Norris, who carried hoſtilities into the heart of Britanny, was become ſenſible that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himſelf maſter of his kingdom. The nearer he ſeemed

[a] D'Ewes, p. 466. Townſend, p. 47. Townſend, p. 48.

[b] D'Ewes, p. 466.

by

by his military ſucceſſes to approach to a full poſſeſſion of the throne, the more diſcontent and jealouſy aroſe among thoſe Romaniſts who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect ſome catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry ſhould any longer refuſe to ſatisfy them by declaring his converſion. This excellent prince was far from being a bigot to his ſect; and as he deemed theſe theological diſputes entirely ſubordinate to the public good, he had ſecretly determined, from the beginning, to come, ſome time or other, to the reſolution required of him. He had found, on the death of his predeceſſor, that the hugonots, who formed the braveſt and moſt faithful part of his army, were ſuch determined zealots, that, if he had, at that time, abjured their faith, they would inſtantly have abandoned him to the pretenſions and uſurpations of the catholics. The more bigoted catholics, he knew, particularly thoſe of the league, had entertained ſuch an unſurmountable prejudice againſt his perſon, and diffidence of his ſincerity, that even his abjuration would not reconcile them to his title; and he muſt either expect to be entirely excluded from the throne, or be admitted to it on ſuch terms as would leave him little more than the mere ſhadow of royalty. In this delicate ſituation he had reſolved to temporize; to retain the hugonots by continuing in the profeſſion of their religion; to gain the moderate catholics by giving them hopes of his converſion; to attach both to his perſon by conduct and ſucceſs; and he hoped, either that the animoſity, ariſing from war againſt the league, would make them drop gradually the queſtion of religion, or that he might, in time, after ſome victories over his enemies and ſome conferences with divines, make finally, with more decency and dignity, that abjuration, which muſt have appeared, at firſt, mean, as well as ſuſpicious to both parties.

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1593. Henry IV. embraces the catholic religion.

When the people are attached to any theological tenets, merely from a general perſuaſion or prepoſſeſſion, they are eaſily induced, by any motive or authority, to change their faith in theſe myſterious ſubjects; as appears from the example of the Engliſh, who, during ſome reigns, uſually embraced, without ſcruple, the ſtill varying religion of their ſovereigns. But the French nation, where principles had ſo long been diſplayed as the badges of faction, and where each party had fortified its belief by an animoſity againſt the other, were not found ſo pliable or inconſtant; and Henry was at laſt convinced, that the catholics of his party would entirely abandon him, if he gave them not immediate ſatisfaction in this particular. The hugonots alſo, taught by experience, clearly ſaw, that his deſertion of them was become abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſettlement; and ſo general was this perſuaſion among them, that, as the duke of Sully pretends, even the divines of that party purpoſely allowed themſelves to be worſted in the diſputes and conferences; that the king might more readily be convinced of the weakneſs of their cauſe, and might more cordially and ſincerely, at leaſt more decently, embrace the religion, which it was ſo much his intereſt to believe. If this ſelf-denial, in ſo tender a point, ſhould appear incredible and ſupernatural in theologians, it will, at leaſt, be thought very natural, that a prince, ſo little inſtructed in theſe matters as Henry, and deſirous to preſerve his ſincerity, ſhould inſenſibly bend his opinion to the neceſſity of his affairs, and ſhould believe that party to have the beſt arguments, who could alone put him in poſſeſſion of a kingdom. All circumſtances, therefore, being prepared for this great event, that monarch renounced the proteſtant religion, and was ſolemnly received, by the French prelates of his party, into the boſom of the church.

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ELIZABETH, who was herſelf attached to the proteſtants, chiefly by her intereſts and the circumſtances of her birth, and who ſeems to have entertained ſome propenſity, during her whole life, to the catholic ſuperſtition, at leaſt to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended to be extremely diſpleaſed with this abjuration of Henry; and ſhe wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this intereſted change of his religion. Senſible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies, ſhe hearkened to his apologies; continued her ſuccours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually ſtipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

Scotch affairs.

THE intrigues of Spain were not limited to France and England: By means of the never-failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new diſorders in Scotland, and gave freſh alarms to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to Lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was paſſing ſecretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conſpiracy of ſome catholic noblemen with Philip was diſcovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spaniſh monarch: And had ſtipulated to raiſe all their forces; to join them to a body of Spaniſh troops, which Philip promiſed to ſend into Scotland; and after re-eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power, in order to effect the ſame purpoſe in England[c]. Graham of Fintry, who had alſo entered into this conſpiracy, was taken, and arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth ſent lord Borough ambaſſador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exerciſe the ſame ſeverity on the three earls, to confiſcate their eſtates, and by annexing them to the

[c] Spotſwood, p. 391. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 190,

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1593. crown, both encreaſe his own demeſnes, and ſet an example to all his ſubjects of the dangers attending treaſon and rebellion. The advice was certainly rational, but not eaſy to be executed by the ſmall revenue and limited authority of James. He deſired, therefore, ſome ſupply from her of men and money; but though ſhe had reaſon to deem the proſecution of the three popiſh earls a common cauſe, ſhe never could be prevailed on to grant him the leaſt aſſiſtance. The tenth part of the expence, which ſhe beſtowed in ſupporting the French king, and the States, would have ſufficed to execute this purpoſe, more immediately eſſential to her ſecurity[d]: But ſhe ſeems ever to have borne ſome degree of malignity to James, whom ſhe hated, both as her heir, and as the ſon of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from giving James aſſiſtance to proſecute the catholic conſpirators, the queen rather contributed to encreaſe his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent diſpoſition of the earl of Bothwel[e], a nobleman deſcended from a natural ſon of James V. Bothwel more than once attempted to render himſelf maſter of the king's perſon; and being expelled the kingdom for theſe traiterous enterprizes, he took ſhelter in England, was ſecretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of ſtill committing ſome new violence. He ſucceeded at laſt in an attempt on the king; and by the mediation of the Engliſh ambaſſador, impoſed diſhonourable terms upon that prince: But James, by the authority of the convention of States, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwel; and obliged him to take ſhelter in England. Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which ſhe was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the king of Scot-

[d] Spotſwood, p. 393. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 235. [e] Spotſwood, p. 257, 258.

land,

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and. During theſe diſorders, encreaſed by the refractory diſpoſition of the eccleſiaſtics, the proſecution of the catholic earls remained in ſuſpence; but at laſt the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt them, and the king prepared himſelf to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commiſſion, found themſelves hard preſſed by James himſelf, and agreed, on certain terms, to leave the kingdom. Bothwel, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take ſhelter, firſt in France, then in Italy, where he died, ſome years after, in great poverty.

THE eſtabliſhed authority of the queen ſecured her from all ſuch attempts as James was expoſed to from the mutinous diſpoſition of his ſubjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domeſtic diſturbance, than by ſuch traiterous and perfidious machinations, as ended in their own diſgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal inſtruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domeſtic phyſician to the queen, being impriſoned on ſuſpicion, confeſſed, that he had received a bribe to poiſon her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had ſucceeded Parma lately deceaſed, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conſpiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of theſe diſhonourable attempts of his miniſters, but could obtain no ſatisfaction [f]. York and Williams, two Engliſh traitors, were afterwards executed for a conſpiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious [g].

INSTEAD of avenging herſelf, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth ſought a more honourable vengeance,

[f] Camden, p. 577. Birch's Negot. p. 15. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 381.
[g] Camden, p. 582.

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by ſupporting the king of France, and aſſiſting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the converſion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with ſpeedy ruin and diſſolution. Norris commanded the Engliſh forces in Britanny, and aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Breſt, towns garriſoned by Spaniſh forces. In every action, the Engliſh, though they had ſo long enjoyed domeſtic peace, diſcovered a ſtrong military diſpoſition; and the queen, though herſelf a heroine, found more frequent occaſion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution[h]: Sir Martin Frobiſher, her brave admiral, periſhed, with many others, before Breſt. Morlaix had been promiſed to the Engliſh for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promiſe, by making it be inſerted in the capitulation, that none but catholics ſhould be admitted into that city.

1594.

1595. NEXT campaign, the French king, who had long carried on hoſtilities with Philip, was at laſt provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war againſt that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invaſion in England, and with an inſurrection in Ireland, recalled moſt of her forces, and ſent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding alſo, that the French league was almoſt entirely diſſolved, and that the moſt conſiderable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, ſhe thought, that he could well ſupport himſelf by his own force and valour; and ſhe began to be more ſparing, in his cauſe, of the blood and treaſure of her ſubjects.

SOME diſguſts, which ſhe had received from the States, joined to the remonſtrances of her frugal miniſter Bur-

[h] Camden, p. 578.

leigh,

leigh, made her alſo inclined to diminiſh her charges on that ſide; and ſhe even demanded, by her ambaſſador, Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimburſed all the money which ſhe had expended in ſupporting them. The States, beſides alleging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till the concluſion of a peace, pleaded their preſent poverty and diſtreſs, the great ſuperiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in ſupporting the war; much more in ſaving money to diſcharge their incumbrances. After much negociation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the Engliſh auxiliaries, computed at forty thouſand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thouſand pounds for ſome years; to aſſiſt her with a certain number of ſhips; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her conſent. They alſo bound themſelves, on finiſhing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment ſhould be in lieu of all demands, and that they ſhould be ſupplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thouſand auxiliaries from England[1].

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The queen ſtill retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the riſing power of the States; and ſhe committed the important truſt of Fluſhing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Eſſex, who expected ſo honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily riſing both in reputation with the people, and favour with herſelf, the queen, who was commonly reſerved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper, on this occaſion, to give him a refuſal. Sir Thomas

[1] Camden, p. 586.

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1596. Baſkerville was ſent over to France at the head of two thouſand Engliſh, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to ſupply that prince. Some ſtipulations for mutual aſſiſtance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

1597. This body of Engliſh were maintained at the expence of the French king; yet did Henry eſteem the ſupply of conſiderable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the Engliſh, in ſo many fortunate enterprizes, undertaken againſt the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained this campaign by prince Maurice, the Engliſh auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sydney, had acquired honour; and the ſucceſs of that day was univerſally aſcribed to their diſcipline and valour.

Naval enterprizes. Though Elizabeth, at a conſiderable expence of blood and treaſure, made war againſt Philip in France and the Low Countries, the moſt ſevere blows, which ſhe gave him, were by thoſe naval enterprizes, which either ſhe or her ſubjects ſcarcely ever intermitted during one ſeaſon. In 1594, Richard Hawkins, ſon of Sir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commiſſion, and ſailed with three ſhips to the South Sea by the ſtraits of Magellan: But his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himſelf was taken priſoner on the coaſt of Chili. James Lancaſter was ſupplied the ſame year with three ſhips and a pinnace by the merchants of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ſhips of the enemy; and not content with this ſucceſs, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where, he knew, great treaſures were at that time lodged. As he approached the ſhore, he ſaw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but no-wiſe daunted at this appearance, he placed the ſtouteſt

ſtouteſt of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with ſuch violence, on the landing place, as to ſplit them in pieces. By this bold action, he both deprived his men of all reſource but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a ſhort reſiſtance. He returned home with the treaſure, which he had ſo bravely acquired. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had anew forfeited the queen's friendſhip by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been thrown into priſon for this miſdemeanor, no ſooner recovered his liberty, than he was puſhed, by his active and enterprizing genius, to attempt ſome great action. The ſucceſs of the firſt Spaniſh adventurers againſt Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepoſſeſſion univerſally took place, that, in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiſcovered, there were mines and treaſures far exceeding any which Cortes or Pizzaro had met with. Raleigh, whoſe turn of mind was ſomewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook at his own charge the diſcovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the ſmall town of St. Joſeph in the iſle of Trinidado, where he found no riches, he left his ſhip, and ſailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to anſwer his expectations. On his return, he publiſhed an account of the country, full of the groſſeſt and moſt palpable lies that were ever attempted to be impoſed on the credulity of mankind[k].

1597.

The ſame year, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and they carried with them ſix ſhips of the queen's and twenty more, which either were fitted out at their own charge, or were furniſhed them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baſkerville was appointed commander of the land

[k] Camden, p. 584.

forces,

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forces, which they carried on board. Their firſt deſign was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carrack was at that time ſtationed; but as they had not preſerved the requiſite ſecrecy, a pinnace, having ſtrayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the Engliſh. Preparations were made in that iſland for their reception; and the Engliſh fleet, notwithſtanding the brave aſſault which they made on the enemy, was repulſed with loſs. Hawkins ſoon after died; and Drake purſued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the iſthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to paſs forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found ſuch a ſcheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the ſame facility, which had attended his firſt enterprizes in thoſe parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the paſſes, and had ſtationed troops in the woods; who ſo infeſted the Engliſh by continual alarms and ſkirmiſhes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effect any thing. Drake himſelf, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his diſappointment, was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died. Sir Thomas Baſkerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spaniſh fleet, of which the event was not deciſive, he returned to England. The Spaniards ſuffered ſome loſs from this enterprize; but the Engliſh reaped no profit[1].

THE bad ſucceſs of this enterprize in the Indies made the Engliſh rather attempt the Spaniſh dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invaſion of England. A powerful

[1] Monſon, p. 167.

fleet

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fleet was equipped at Plymouth, conſiſting of a hundred and ſeventy veſſels, ſeventeen of which were capital ſhips of war; the reſt tenders and ſmall veſſels: Twenty ſhips were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen, beſide the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Eſſex: The navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both theſe commanders had expended great ſums of their own in the armament: For ſuch was the ſpirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral [m].

THE fleet ſet ſail on the firſt of June 1596; and meeting with a fair wind, bent its courſe to Cadiz, at which place, by ſealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They ſent before them ſome armed tenders, which intercepted every ſhip that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themſelves were ſo fortunate when they câme near Cadiz, as to take an Iriſh veſſel, by which they learned, that that port was full of merchant ſhips of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect ſecurity, without any apprehenſions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the Engliſh fleet, and gave them the proſpect of a fortunate iſſue to the enterprize.

AFTER a fruitleſs attempt to land at St. Sebaſtian's on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Cadiz; it was, upon deliberation, reſolved by the council of war to attack the ſhips and gallies in the bay. This attempt was deemed raſh; and the admiral himſelf, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great ſcruples with regard

[m] Camden, p. 591.

to

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to it: But Eſſex ſtrenuouſly recommended the enterprize; and when he found the reſolution at laſt taken, he threw his hat into the ſea, and gave ſymptoms of the moſt extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his ſafety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had ſecretly given orders, that he ſhould not be permitted to command the van in the attack[n]. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard; but Eſſex no ſooner came within reach of the enemy, than he forgot the promiſe, which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midſt of the fleet; he broke through and preſſed forward into the thickeſt of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, animoſity againſt the Spaniards, proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was ſoon obliged to ſlip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ſhips aground. Eſſex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the Engliſh ſoon carried ſword in hand. The generoſity of Eſſex, not inferior to his valour, made him ſtop the ſlaughter, and treat his priſoners with the greateſt humanity, and even affability and kindneſs. The Engliſh made rich plunder in the city; but miſſed of a much richer by the reſolution which the duke of Medina, the Spaniſh admiral, took of ſetting fire to the ſhips, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed, that the loſs, which the Spaniards ſuſtained in this enterprize, amounted to twenty millions of ducats[o]; beſides the indignity, which that proud and ambitious people ſuffered from the ſacking of one of their chief cities, and deſtroying in their harbour a fleet of ſuch force and value.

[n] Monſon, p. 196. [o] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

ESSEX,

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Essex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great ſucceſs only as a ſtep to future atchievements: He inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Cadiz; and he undertook with four hundred men and three months proviſions, to defend the place, till ſuccours ſhould arrive from England: But all the other ſeamen and ſoldiers were ſatisfied with the honour which they had acquired; and were impatient to return home, in order to ſecure their plunder. Every other propoſal of Eſſex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his ſcheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for aſſaulting the Groine, for taking St. Andero, and St. Sebaſtian: And the Engliſh, finding it ſo difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at laſt left him on the Spaniſh coaſt, attended by a very few ſhips. He complained much to the queen of their want of ſpirit in this enterprize; nor was ſhe pleaſed, that they had returned without attempting to intercept the Indian fleet[p]; but the great ſucceſs, in the enterprize on Cadiz, had covered all their miſcarriages: And that princeſs, though ſhe admired the lofty genius of Eſſex, could not forbear expreſſing an eſteem for the other officers[q]. The admiral was created earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great diſguſt to Eſſex[r]. In the preamble of the patent it was ſaid, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good ſervices in taking Cadiz, and deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhips; a merit which Eſſex pretended to belong ſolely to himſelf: And he offered to maintain this plea by ſingle combat againſt the earl of Nottingham, or his ſons, or any of his kindred.

The atchievements in the ſubſequent year proved not ſo fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly eſcaped the Engliſh, Philip had ſtill reaſon to ſee the great hazard and diſadvantage of that war in which he was engaged,

[p] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 121.
[q] Camden, p. 593.
[r] Sidney's Papers, vol. ii. p. 77.

and

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and the ſuperiority which the Engliſh, by their naval power and their ſituation, had acquired over him. The

1597. queen, having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were ſo much ſhattered and deſtroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a ſquadron at Ferrol and the Groine, and were marching troops thither, with a view of making a deſcent in Ireland, was reſolved to prevent their enterprize, and to deſtroy the ſhipping in theſe harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty ſail, of which ſeventeen were her own ſhips, forty-three were ſmaller veſſels, and the reſt tenders and victuallers: She embarked on board this fleet five thouſand new-levied ſoldiers, and added a thouſand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The earl of Eſſex, commander in chief both of the land and ſea forces, was at the head of one ſquadron: Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; Sir Walter Raleigh of the third: Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Eſſex: Vere was appointed marſhal: Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Chriſtopher Blount firſt colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, embarked as volunteers. Eſſex declared his reſolution either to deſtroy the new Armada, which threatened England, or to periſh in the attempt.

9th July. THIS powerful fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth; but were no ſooner out of harbour than they met with a furious ſtorm, which ſhattered and diſperſed them; and before they could be refitted, Eſſex found, that their proviſions were ſo far ſpent, that it would not be ſafe to carry ſo numerous an army along with him. He diſmiſſed, therefore, all the ſoldiers, except the thouſand veterans under Vere; and laying aſide all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groine, he confined the object of his expedition

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to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; which had at firſt been conſidered only as the ſecond enterprize which he was to attempt.

THE Indian fleet, in that age, by reaſon of the imperfection of navigation, had a ſtated courſe, as well as ſeaſon, both in their going out, and in their return; and there were certain iſlands, at which, as at fixed ſtages, they always touched, and where they took in water and proviſions. The Azores being one of theſe places, where, about this time, the fleet was expected, Eſſex bent his courſe thither; and he informed Raleigh, that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of theſe iſlands. By ſome accident the ſquadrons were ſeparated; and Raleigh arriving firſt before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting ſome time for the general, to begin the attack alone, leſt the inhabitants ſhould, by farther delay, have leiſure to make preparations for their defence. He ſucceeded in the enterprize; but Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at his conduct, and conſtrued it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: He caſhiered, therefore, Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the ſame puniſhment on Raleigh himſelf, had not lord Thomas Howard interpoſed with his good offices, and perſuaded Raleigh, though high-ſpirited, to make ſubmiſſions to the general. Eſſex, who was placable, as well as haſty and paſſionate, was ſoon appeaſed, and both received Raleigh into favour, and reſtored the other officers to their commands[s]. This incident, however, though the quarrel was ſeemingly accommodated, laid the firſt foundation of that violent animoſity, which afterwards took place between theſe two gallant commanders.

[s] Monſon, p. 173.

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Essex made next a diſpoſition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons; and Sir William Monſon, whoſe ſtation was the moſt remote of the fleet, having fallen in with them, made the ſignals which had been agreed on. That able officer, in his Memoirs, aſcribes Eſſex's failure, when he was ſo near attaining ſo mighty an advantage, to his want of experience in ſeamanſhip; and the account which he gives of the errors committed by that nobleman, appears very reaſonable as well as candid[t]. The Spaniſh fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the ſail poſſible to the Terceras, and got into the ſafe and well-fortified harbour of Angra, before the Engliſh fleet could overtake them. Eſſex intercepted only three ſhips; which, however, were ſo rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The cauſes of the miſcarriage in this enterprize were much canvaſſed in England, upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Eſſex or Raleigh, the people, in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, ſpirit, and generoſity of the former, were inclined to juſtify every circumſtance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as ſhe eſteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to ſhare her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, ſecond ſon of lord Burleigh, was a courtier of promiſing hopes, much connected with Raleigh; and ſhe made him ſecretary of ſtate, preferably to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Eſſex recommended for that office. But not to diſguſt Eſſex, ſhe promoted him to the dignity of earl Marſhal of England; an office which had been vacant ſince the death of the earl of Shrewſbury. Eſſex might perceive from this conduct, that ſhe never intended to give him the entire aſcendant over his rivals, and

[t] Monſon, p. 174.

might

might thence learn the neceſſity of moderation and caution. But his temper was too high for ſubmiſſion; his behaviour too open and candid to practiſe the arts of a court; and his free ſallies, while they rendered him but more amiable in the eyes of good judges, gave his enemies many advantages againſt him. CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

THE war with Spain, though ſucceſsful, having exhauſted the queen's exchequer, ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons [u]. Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper, to inform this aſſembly of the neceſſity of a ſupply. She ſaid, that the wars, formerly waged in Europe, had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at moſt a province, from each other; but the object of the preſent hoſtilities, on the part of Spain, was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence: That theſe bleſſings, however, ſhe herſelf had hitherto been able to preſerve, in ſpite of the devil, the pope, and the Spaniſh tyrant, and all the miſchievous deſigns of all her enemies: That, in this conteſt, ſhe had diſburſed a ſum triple to all the parliamentary ſupplies granted her; and, beſides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to ſell many of the crown lands: And that ſhe could not doubt but her ſubjects, in a cauſe where their own honour and intereſt were ſo deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to ſuch moderate taxations as ſhould be found neceſſary for the common defence [x]. The parliament granted her three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths; the ſame ſupply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared ſo unu- 24th Octob.

[u] See note [HH] at the end of the volume. [x] D'Ewes, p. 525. 527. Townſend, p. 79.

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ſual, that they had voted it ſhould never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

1597. THE commons, this ſeſſion, ventured to engage in two controverſies about forms with the houſe of peers; a prelude to thoſe encroachments, which, as they aſſumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their meſſages ſitting, with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an anſwer in the ſame negligent poſture: But the upper houſe proved, to their full ſatisfaction, that they were not entitled, by cuſtom, and the uſage of parliament, to any more reſpect [y]. Some amendments had been made by the lords, to a bill ſent up by the commons; and theſe amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower houſe took umbrage at the novelty: They pretended, that theſe amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not ſuch a frivolous objection from the gravity of the houſe; and that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which ſeemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any ſatisfaction [z].

AN application was made, by way of petition, to the queen, from the lower houſe, againſt monopolies; an abuſe which had riſen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious, though a general anſwer; for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments [a]. But

[y] D'Ewes, p. 539, 540. 580. 585. Townſend, p. 93, 94, 95.
[z] D'Ewes, p. 576, 577. [a] Ibid. p. 570. 573.

not

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not to give them too much encouragement in ſuch applications, ſhe told them, in the ſpeech which ſhe delivered at their diſſolution, "That, with regard to theſe patents, "ſhe hoped that her dutiful and loving ſubjects would "not take away her prerogative, which is the chief "flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl "in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather "leave theſe matters to her diſpoſal [b]." The commons alſo took notice, this ſeſſion, of ſome tranſactions in the court of high commiſſion; but not till they had previouſly obtained permiſſion from her majeſty to that purpoſe [c]. CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

ELIZABETH had reaſon to foreſee, that parliamentary ſupplies would now become more neceſſary to her than ever; and that the chief burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negociation, he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the States; that, if poſſible, a general pacification might be made by common agreement. Theſe two powers ſent ambaſſadors to France, in order to remonſtrate againſt peace; the queen, Sir Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the States, Juſtin Naſſau, and John Barnevelt. Henry ſaid to theſe miniſters, that his early education had been amidſt war and danger, and he had paſſed the whole courſe of his life either in arms or in military preparations: That, after the proofs which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a courſe of life to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to ſuch a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to 1598.

[b] D'Ewes, p. 547. [c] Ibid. p. 557, 558.

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him or to his allies: That no private intereſts of his own, not even thoſe of his people, nothing but the moſt invincible neceſſity, could ever induce him to think of a ſeparate peace with Philip, or make him embrace meaſures not entirely conformable to the wiſhes of all his confederates: That his kingdom, torn with the convulſions and civil wars of near half a century, required ſome interval of repoſe, ere it could reach a condition in which it might ſuſtain itſelf, much more ſupport its allies: That after the minds of his ſubjects were compoſed to tranquillity, and accuſtomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were reſtored, France, inſtead of being a burden, as at preſent, to her confederates, would be able to lend them effectual ſuccour, and amply to repay them all the aſſiſtance which ſhe had received during her calamities: And that, if the ambition of Spain would not at preſent grant them ſuch terms as they ſhould think reaſonable, he hoped that, in a little time, he ſhould attain ſuch a ſituation as would enable him to mediate more effectually, and with more deciſive authority, in their behalf.

THE ambaſſadors were ſenſible that theſe reaſons were not feigned; and they therefore remonſtrated with the leſs vehemence againſt the meaſures which, they ſaw, Henry was determined to purſue. The States knew that that monarch was intereſted never to permit their final ruin; and, having received private aſſurances that he would ſtill, notwithſtanding the peace, give them aſſiſtance both of men and money, they were well pleaſed to remain on terms of amity with him. His greateſt concern was to give ſatisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial eſteem for that princeſs, a ſympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary favours which he had received from her during

during his greateſt difficulties: And he uſed every expedient to apologize and atone for that meaſure which neceſſity extorted from him. But as Spain refuſed to treat with the Dutch as a free ſtate, and Elizabeth would not negociate without her ally, Henry found himſelf obliged to conclude at Vervins, a ſeparate peace, by which he recovered poſſeſſion of all the places ſeized by Spain during the courſe of the civil wars, and procured to himſelf leiſure to purſue the domeſtic ſettlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wiſe government, he raiſed France, from the deſolation and miſery in which ſhe was involved, to a more flouriſhing condition than ſhe had ever before enjoyed.

1598. Peace of Vervins.

The queen knew that ſhe could alſo, whenever ſhe pleaſed, finiſh the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himſelf from an enemy who had foiled him in every conteſt, and who ſtill had it ſo much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms. Some of her wiſeſt counſellors, particularly the treaſurer, adviſed her to embrace pacific meaſures; and ſet before her the advantages of tranquillity, ſecurity, and frugality, as more conſiderable than any ſucceſs which could attend the greateſt victories. But this high-ſpirited princeſs, though at firſt averſe to war, ſeemed now to have attained ſuch an aſcendant over the enemy, that ſhe was unwilling to ſtop the courſe of her proſperous fortune. She conſidered, that her ſituation and her paſt victories had given her entire ſecurity againſt any dangerous invaſion; and the war muſt thenceforth be conducted by ſudden enterprizes and naval expeditions, in which ſhe poſſeſſed an undoubted ſuperiority: That the weak condition of Philip in the Indies, opened to her the view of the moſt

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durable advantages; and the yearly return of his treasure by ſea afforded a continual proſpect of important, though more temporary, ſucceſſes: That, after his peace with France, if ſhe alſo ſhould conſent to an accommodation, he would be able to turn his whole force againſt the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had ſurpriſingly encreaſed their power by commerce and good government, were ſtill unable, if not ſupported by their confederates, to maintain war againſt ſo potent a monarch: And that, as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unſafe, as well as diſhonourable, to abandon its cauſe, till ſhe had placed it in a ſtate of greater ſecurity.

THESE reaſons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Eſſex, whoſe paſſion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earneſtly deſire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap ſo much advantage and diſtinction. The rivalſhip between this nobleman and lord Burleigh made each of them inſiſt the more ſtrenuouſly on his own counſel; but as Eſſex's perſon was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite ſeemed daily to acquire an aſcendant over the miniſter. Had he been endowed with caution and ſelf-command, equal to his ſhining qualities, he would have ſo rivetted himſelf in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit: But his lofty ſpirit could ill ſubmit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which ſhe had ever been accuſtomed to receive from all her ſubjects. Being once engaged in a diſpute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, roſe at this provocation; and ſhe

The earl of Eſſex.

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ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a paſſionate expreſſion ſuited to his impertinence. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore that he would not bear ſuch uſage, were it from Henry VIII. himſelf; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton, the chancellor, who loved Eſſex, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion, by proper acknowledgments; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country: But Eſſex was deeply ſtung with the diſhonour which he had received; and ſeemed to think, that an inſult, which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his ſovereign. "If "the vileſt of all indignities," ſaid he, "is done me, "does religion enforce me to ſue for pardon? Doth God "require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot "princes err? Cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an "earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can "never ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let Solomon's "fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that mean to "make their profit of princes, ſhew no ſenſe of princes' "injuries: Let *them* acknowledge an infinite abſolute-"neſs on earth, that do not believe an abſolute Infinite-"neſs in heaven:" (alluding, probably, to the character and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety) "As for me," continued he, "I "have received wrong, I feel it: My cauſe is good, I "know it; and whatſoever happens, all the powers "on earth can never exert more ſtrength and conſtancy "in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in ſuffering every "thing that can or ſhall be impoſed upon me. Your "lordſhip, in the beginning of your letter, makes me

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"a player, and yourſelf a looker on: And me a player of "my own game, ſo you may ſee more than I: But give "me leave to tell you, that ſince you do but ſee, and I "do ſuffer, I muſt of neceſſity feel more than you [d]."

THIS ſpirited letter was ſhown by Eſſex to his friends; and they were ſo imprudent as to diſperſe copies of it: Yet, notwithſtanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was ſo prevalent, that ſhe reinſtated him in his former favour; and her kindneſs to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this ſhort interval of anger and reſentment. The death of Burleigh, 4th Aug. his antagoniſt, which happened about the ſame time, ſeemed to enſure him conſtant poſſeſſion of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiſcretion could thenceforth have ſhaken his well-eſtabliſhed credit. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his ſovereign and the people. He had riſen gradually, from ſmall beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely abſolute, or uncontrouled with the queen, he was ſtill, during the courſe of near forty years, regarded as her principal miniſter. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in ſo uſeful a counſellor; and as he had had the generoſity or good ſenſe to pay aſſiduous court to her, during her ſiſter's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, ſhe thought herſelf bound in gratitude, when ſhe mounted the throne, to perſevere in her attachments to him. He ſeems not to have poſſeſſed any ſhining talents of addreſs, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in buſineſs: Virtues, which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high ſtations, do certainly qualify him beſt for filling

[d] See note [II] at the end of the volume.

them,

them. Of all the queen's miniſters he alone left a conſi- CHAP. XLIII.
derable fortune to his poſterity; a fortune not acquired 1598.
by rapine or oppreſſion, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preſerved by frugality.

THE laſt act of this able miniſter was the concluding 8th Aug.
of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being, in ſome meaſure, deſerted by the king of France, were glad to preſerve the queen's alliance, by ſubmitting to any terms which ſhe pleaſed to require of them. The debt, which they owed her, was now ſettled at eight hundred thouſand pounds: Of this ſum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thouſand pounds a-year; and theſe payments were to continue till four hundred thouſand pounds of the debt ſhould be extinguiſhed. They engaged alſo, during the time that England ſhould continue the war with Spain, to pay the garriſons of the cautionary towns. They ſtipulated, that if Spain ſhould invade England, or the Iſle of Wight, or Jerſey, or Scilly, they ſhould aſſiſt her with a body of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; and that in caſe ſhe undertook any naval armament againſt Spain, they ſhould join an equal number of ſhips to her's [c]. By this treaty the queen was eaſed of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds.

SOON after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loſs of ſo wiſe and faithful a miniſter, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II. who, after languiſhing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, deſirous of an accommodation with his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, but diſdaining to make in his own name the conceſſions neceſſary for that purpoſe, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert,

[c] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 340.

the

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the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected, that this princeſs could have poſterity, and as the reverſion, on failure of her iſſue, was ſtill reſerved to the crown of Spain, the States conſidered this deed only as the change of a name, and they perſiſted with equal obſtinacy in their reſiſtance to the Spaniſh arms. The other powers alſo of Europe made no diſtinction between the courts of Bruſſels and Madrid; and the ſecret oppoſition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate againſt the progreſs of Albert, as it had done againſt that of Philip.

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CHAP. XLIV.

State of Ireland——Tyrone's rebellion——Eſſex ſent over to Ireland——His ill ſucceſs——Returns to England——Is diſgraced——His intrigues——His inſurrection——His trial and execution——French affairs——Mountjoy's ſucceſs in Ireland——Defeat of the Spaniards and Iriſh——A parliament——Tyrone's ſubmiſſion——Queen's ſickneſs——And death——And Character.

CHAP. XLV.

1599. State of Ireland.

THOUGH the dominion of the Engliſh over Ireland had been ſeemingly eſtabliſhed above four centuries, it may ſafely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Iriſh princes and nobles, divided among themſelves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeiſance to a power which they were not able to reſiſt; but, as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapſed ſtill into their former ſtate of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the Engliſh authority was yet ſufficient to check the growth of any enterpriſing genius among the natives: And though it could beſtow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the riſe of any ſuch form, from the internal combination or policy of the Iriſh [a].

MOST of the Engliſh inſtitutions likewiſe by which that iſland was governed, were to the laſt degree abſurd, and ſuch as no ſtate before had ever thought of, for preſerving dominion over its conquered provinces.

[a] Sir J. Davies, p. 5, 6, 7. &c.

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THE Engliſh nation, all on fire for the project of ſubduing France, a project, whoſe ſucceſs was the moſt improbable, and would to them have proved the moſt pernicious; neglected all other enterprizes, to which their ſituation ſo ſtrongly invited them, and which, in time, would have brought them an acceſſion of riches, grandeur, and ſecurity. The ſmall army, which they maintained in Ireland, they never ſupplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the iſland, which poſſeſſed none, they gave their ſoldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and inſolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: Want of ſecurity among the Iriſh, introducing deſpair, nouriſhed ſtill more the ſloth natural to that uncultivated people.

BUT the Engliſh carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Inſtead of inviting the Iriſh to adopt the more civilized cuſtoms of their conquerors, they even refuſed, though earneſtly ſolicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of juſtice, the natives could find no ſecurity but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with ſafety, they ſheltered themſelves in their marſhes and foreſts from the inſolence of their inhuman maſters. Being treated like wild beaſts, they became ſuch; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous[b].

As the Engliſh princes deemed the conqueſt of the diſperſed Iriſh to be more the object of time and patience than the ſource of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, inliſting ſoldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that iſland,

[b] Sir J. Davies, p. 102, 103, &c.

which

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which they converted to their own profit. Separate juriſdictions and principalities were eſtabliſhed by theſe lordly conquerors: The power of peace and war was aſſumed: Military law was exerciſed over the Iriſh, whom they ſubdued; and, by degrees, over the Engliſh, by whoſe aſſiſtance they conquered: And, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the Engliſh inſtitutions leſs favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Iriſh, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their mother country [c].

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent ſtate remained ſtill in that abject condition, into which the northern and weſtern parts of Europe were ſunk, before they received civility and ſlavery from the refined policy and irreſiſtible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the ſixteenth century, when every chriſtian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that iſland, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile ſoil, acceſſible in its ſituation, poſſeſſed of innumerable harbours, was ſtill, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, inhabited by a people, whoſe cuſtoms and manners approached nearer thoſe of ſavages than of barbarians [d].

As the rudeneſs and ignorance of the Iriſh were extreme, they were ſunk below the reach of that curioſity and love of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been ſeized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious diſputes, with which they were ſtill ſo violently agitated. The ancient ſuperſtition, the practices and obſervances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, ſtill maintained an unſhaken empire over them; and the example alone of the Engliſh was ſufficient to

[c] Sir J. Davies, p. 133, 134, &c, Ireland, throughout.

[d] See Spencer's account of

render

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render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and diſcontented Iriſh. The old oppoſition of manners, laws, and intereſt was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the ſubduing and civilizing of that country ſeemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

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THE animoſity againſt the Engliſh was carried ſo far by the Iriſh, that, in an inſurrection, raiſed by two ſons of the earl of Clanricarde, they put to the ſword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Iriſh; becauſe they began to conform themſelves to Engliſh cuſtoms, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practiſed by their anceſtors[d].

THE uſual revenue of Ireland amounted only to ſix thouſand pounds a-year[e]: The queen, though with much repining[f], commonly added twenty thouſand more, which ſhe remitted from England: And, with this ſmall revenue, a body of a thouſand men was ſupported, which, on extraordinary emergencies, was augmented to two thouſand[g]. No wonder that a force, ſo diſproportioned to the object, inſtead of ſubduing a mutinous kingdom, ſerved rather to provoke the natives, and to excite thoſe frequent inſurrections, which ſtill farther inflamed the animoſity between the two nations, and increaſed the diſorders, to which the Iriſh were naturally ſubject.

IN 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale, as the Iriſh called him, becauſe head of that potent clan, raiſed a rebellion in Ulſter; but after ſome ſkirmiſhes, he was received into favour, upon his ſubmiſſion, and his promiſe of a more dutiful behaviour for the future[h]. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new inſurrection in

[d] Camden, p. 457. [e] Memoirs of the Sidneys, vol. i. p. 86.
[f] Cox, p. 342. Sidney, vol. i. p. 85. 200. [g] Camden, p. 542. Sidney, vol. i. p. 65. 109. 183, 184. [h] Camden, p. 385. 391.

1567;

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1567; but being puſhed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and rather than ſubmit to the Engliſh, he put himſelf into the hands of ſome Scottiſh iſlanders, who commonly infeſted thoſe parts by their incurſions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel againſt him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hoſpitality, and murdered him at a feſtival, to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the Engliſh nation. He is ſaid to have put ſome of his followers to death, becauſe they endeavoured to introduce the uſe of bread after the Engliſh faſhion[i]. Though ſo violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accuſtomed, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame, which he had raiſed by former exceſſes[k]. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who ſcorned the title of the earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have reſtored to him, and who aſſumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulſter. He uſed alſo to ſay, that, though the queen was his ſovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her ſeeking[l].

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wiſeſt and moſt active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for ſeveral reigns[m]; and he poſſeſſed his authority eleven years; during which, he ſtruggled with many difficulties, and made ſome progreſs in repreſſing thoſe diſorders, which had become inveterate among the people. The earl of Deſmond, in 1569, gave him diſturbance, from the hereditary animoſity which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, deſcended from the only family, eſtabliſhed in Ireland, that had ſteadily

i Camden, p. 405.
k Ibid. p. 409. Cox, p. 324.
l Ibid. p. 321.
m Cox, p. 350.

maintained

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1599. maintained its loyalty to the Engliſh crown[n]. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France, before his deſigns were ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found ſuch credit with the pope, Gregory the XIIIth, that he flattered that pontiff with the proſpect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leinſter from the new ſovereign[o]. He paſſed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an inſtrument in diſturbing Elizabeth, he was found to poſſeſs too little intereſt for executing thoſe high promiſes which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and following the fortunes of Don Sebaſtian, he periſhed with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition againſt the Moors.

Lord Gray, after ſome interval, ſucceeded to the government of Ireland; and, in 1579, ſuppreſſed a new rebellion of the earl of Deſmond, though ſupported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourks followed a few years after; occaſioned by the ſtrict and equitable adminiſtration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repreſs the tyranny of the chieftains over their vaſſals[p]. The queen, finding Ireland ſo burthenſome to her, tried ſeveral expedients for reducing it to a ſtate of greater order and ſubmiſſion. She encouraged the earl of Eſſex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the ſubduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of ſome late forfeitures: But that enterprize proved unfortunate; and Eſſex died of a

[n] Camden, p. 424. [o] Ibid. p. 430. Cox, p. 354.
[p] Stowe, p. 720.

diſtemper,

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diſtemper, occaſioned, as is ſuppoſed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his diſappointments. An univerſity was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants[q]. But the moſt unhappy expedient, employed in the government of Ireland, was that made uſe of in 1585 by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: He put arms into the hands of the Iriſh inhabitants of Ulſter, in order to enable them, without the aſſiſtance of the government, to repreſs the incurſions of the Scottiſh iſlanders, by which theſe parts were much infeſted[r]. At the ſame time, the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to ſerve in the Low Country wars; and thus Ireland, being provided with officers and ſoldiers, with diſcipline and arms, became formidable to the Engliſh, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war againſt her ancient maſters.

Tyrone's rebellion.

HUGH O'NEALE, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been raiſed by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his couſin, ſon of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleaſures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all thoſe diſorders, by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the Engliſh government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty, ſo common among uncultivated nations; and was alſo eminent for courage, a virtue, which their diſorderly courſe of life requires, and which, notwithſtanding, being leſs ſupported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precarious among them, than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this ſpirit, ſecretly fomented the diſcontents of the Maguires, O'Don-

[q] Camden, p. 566.

[r] Nanton's Fragmenta Regalia, p 203.

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1599. nels, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet, truſting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and profeſſions, he put himſelf into the hands of Sir William Ruſſel, who, in the year 1594, was ſent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and proteſtation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marſhal of the army, he was diſmiſſed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the reſolution of raiſing an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the Engliſh government. He entered into a correſpondence with Spain: He procured thence a ſupply of arms and ammunition: And having united all the Iriſh chieftains in a dependence upon himſelf, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

THE native Iriſh were ſo poor, that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were eaſily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and, as Elizabeth was averſe to the expence requiſite for ſupporting her armies, the Engliſh found much difficulty in puſhing their advantages, and in purſuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other faſtneſſes, to which they retreated. Theſe motives rendered Sir John Norris, who commanded the Engliſh army, the more willing to hearken to any propoſals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was ſpun out by theſe artifices for ſome years, that gallant Engliſhman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promiſes, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was ſeized with a languiſhing diſtemper, and died of vexation and diſcontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who ſucceeded him in the command, was ſtill more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-water, beſieged by the rebels, he was ſurrounded in diſadvantageous ground; his ſoldiers, diſcouraged by part of their powder's acci-

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dentally taking fire, were put to flight; and, though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, rouzed their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty[s].

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The English council were now sensible, that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing arts, of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed, she thought, with talents equal to the undertaking. But the young earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, and desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and represented the necessity of appointing, for that important employment, some person more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practised in business, and of higher quality and reputation. By this description, he was understood to mean himself[t]; and no sooner was his desire known, than his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes. Many of his friends thought, that he never ought to consent, except for a short time, to accept of any employment, which must remove him from

[s] Cox, p. 415. [t] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512.

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court, and prevent him from cultivating that perſonal inclination, which the queen ſo viſibly bore him[u]. His enemies hoped, that if, by his abſence, ſhe had once leiſure to forget the charms of his perſon and converſation, his impatient and lofty demeanor would ſoon diſguſt a princeſs, who uſually exacted ſuch profound ſubmiſſion and implicit obedience from all her ſervants. But Eſſex was incapable of entering into ſuch cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely deſirous of ſubduing the Iriſh rebels, and who was much prepoſſeſſed in favour of Eſſex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, ſhe granted him by his patent more extenſive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finiſhing the war as he pleaſed, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the moſt conſiderable employments of the kingdom[x]. And to enſure him of ſucceſs, ſhe levied a numerous army of ſixteen thouſand foot and thirteen hundred horſe, which ſhe afterwards augmented to twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: A force which, it was apprehended, would be able, in one campaign, to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conqueſt of Ireland. Nor did Eſſex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Cobham, throw any obſtacles in the way of theſe preparations; but hoped that the higher the queen's expectations of ſucceſs were raiſed, the more difficult it would be for the event to correſpond to them. In a like view, they rather ſeconded than oppoſed, thoſe exalted encomiums, which Eſſex's numerous and ſanguine friends diſperſed, of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generoſity, and his noble birth; nor

Eſſex ſent over to Ireland.

[u] Cabala, p. 79. [x] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 366.

were

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were they diſpleaſed to obſerve that paſſionate fondneſs, which the people every where expreſſed for this nobleman. Theſe artful politicians had ſtudied his character; and finding that his open and undaunted ſpirit, if taught temper and reſerve from oppoſition, muſt become invincible, they reſolved rather to give full breath to thoſe ſails, which were already too much expanded, and to puſh him upon dangers, of which he ſeemed to make ſuch ſmall account[y]. And the better to make advantage of his indiſcretions, ſpies were ſet upon all his actions and even expreſſions; and his vehement ſpirit, which, while he was in the midſt of the court and environed by his rivals, was unacquainted with diſguiſe, could not fail, after he thought himſelf furrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant ſuſpicions and conſtructions.

Essex left London in the month of March, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his perſon, had attached themſelves to his fortunes, and ſought fame and military experience under ſo renowned a commander. The firſt act of authority, which he exerciſed, after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiſcretion, but of the generous kind; and in both theſe reſpects, ſuitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's diſpleaſure, by ſecretly marrying without her conſent, and whom ſhe had therefore enjoined Eſſex not to employ in any command under him. She no ſooner heard of this inſtance of diſobedience than ſhe reprimanded him, and ordered him to recal his commiſſion to Southampton. But Eſſex, who had imagined that ſome reaſons, which he oppoſed to her firſt injunc-

[y] Camden. Oſborne, p. 371.

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tions, had ſatisfied her, had the imprudence to remonſtrate againſt theſe ſecond orders[z]; and it was not till ſhe reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to diſplace his friend.

His ill ſucceſs.

Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Iriſh council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war againſt the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprize. He had always, while in England, blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who haraſſed their troops in ſmall enterprizes, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leiſure to recruit their broken forces[a]. In conformity to theſe views, he had ever inſiſted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his inſtructions had been drawn agreeably to theſe his declared reſolutions. But the Iriſh counſellors perſuaded him, that the ſeaſon was too early for the enterprize, and that, as the moraſſes, in which the northern Iriſh uſually ſheltered themſelves, would not, as yet, be paſſable to the Engliſh forces, it would be better to employ the preſent time in an expedition into Munſter. Their ſecret reaſon for this advice was, that many of them poſſeſſed eſtates in that province, and were deſirous to have the enemy diſlodged from their neighbourhood[b]: But the ſame ſelfiſh ſpirit, which had induced them to give this counſel, made them ſoon after diſown it, when they found the bad conſequences with which it was attended[c].

Essex obliged all the rebels of Munſter either to ſubmit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: But as

[z] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 421. 451. [a] Ibid. p. 431. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512. [b] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 448. [c] Winwood, vol. i. p. 140.

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the Iriſh, from the greatneſs of the queen's preparations, had concluded, that ſhe intended to reduce them to total ſubjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they conſidered their defence as a common cauſe; and the Engliſh forces were no ſooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munſter relapſed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become ſickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was ſurprizingly diminiſhed in number. The courage of the ſoldiers was even much abated: For though they had prevailed in ſome leſſer enterprizes, againſt lord Cahir and others; yet had they ſometimes met with more ſtout reſiſtance than they expected from the Iriſh, whom they were wont to deſpiſe; and as they were raw troops and unexperienced, a conſiderable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy. Eſſex was ſo enraged at this miſbehaviour, that he caſhiered all the officers, and decimated the private men[d]. But this act of ſeverity, though neceſſary, had intimidated the ſoldiers, and encreaſed their averſion to the ſervice.

The queen was extremely diſguſted, when ſhe heard, that ſo conſiderable a part of the ſeaſon was conſumed in theſe frivolous enterprizes; and was ſtill more ſurprized, that Eſſex perſevered in the ſame practice, which he had ſo much condemned in others, and which he knew to be ſo much contrary to her purpoſe and intention. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leiſure to recruit from their ſickneſs and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a ſmall body of fifteen hundred men, into the county of Ophelie againſt the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he forced to a ſubmiſ-

[d] Cox, p. 421.

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1599. ſion: But, on his return to Dublin, he found the army ſo much diminiſhed, that he wrote to the Engliſh council an account of its condition, and informed them, that, if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thouſand men, it would be impoſſible for him this ſeaſon to attempt any thing againſt Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen immediately ſent over the number demanded[e]; and Eſſex began at laſt to aſſemble his forces for the expedition into Ulſter. The army was ſo averſe to this enterprize, and ſo terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited ſickneſs, many of them deſerted[f]; and Eſſex found, that after leaving the neceſſary garriſons, he could ſcarcely lead four thouſand men againſt the rebels. He marched, however, with this ſmall army; but was ſoon ſenſible, that, in ſo advanced a ſeaſon, it would be impoſſible for him to effect any thing againſt an enemy, who, though ſuperior in number, was determined to avoid every deciſive action. He hearkened, therefore, to a meſſage ſent him by Tyrone, who deſired a conference; and a place, near the two camps, was appointed for that purpoſe. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his ſaddle: But Eſſex ſtood on the oppoſite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great ſubmiſſion to the lord lieutenant, a ceſſation of arms was concluded to the firſt of May, renewable from ſix weeks to ſix weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning[g]. Eſſex alſo received from Tyrone propoſals for a peace, in which that rebel had inſerted many unreaſonable and exorbitant conditions: And there appeared afterwards

[e] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 430. Cox, p. 421. [f] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 112, 113. [g] Ibid. p. 125.

ſome

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ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that he had here commenced a very unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the enemy[h].

So unexpected an iſſue of an enterprize, the greateſt and moſt expenſive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely againſt Eſſex; and this diſguſt was much augmented by other circumſtances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peeviſh and impatient expreſſions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies ſhould be believed againſt him, and diſcovering ſymptoms of a mind equally haughty and diſcontented. She took care to inform him of her diſſatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of maſter of the wards, an office to which he himſelf aſpired: And dreading that, if he remained any longer abſent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he haſtily embraced a reſolution, which, he knew, had once ſucceeded with the earl of Leiceſter, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leiceſter, being informed, while in the Low Countries, that his miſtreſs was extremely diſpleaſed with his conduct, diſobeyed her orders by coming over to England; and having pacified her by his preſence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and inſinuation, diſappointed all the expectations of his enemies[i]. Eſſex, therefore, weighing more the ſimilarity of circumſtances than the difference of character between himſelf and Leiceſter, immediately ſet out for England; and making ſpeedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the leaſt apprized of his intentions[k]. Though beſmeared with dirt and ſweat, he haſtened up

Returns to England.

[h] Winwood, vol. i. p. 307. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 514. 535. 537. [i] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 453. [k] Winwood, vol. i. p. 118.

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ſtairs to the preſence chamber, thence to the privy chamber; nor ſtopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face. He threw himſelf on his knees, kiſſed her hand, and had ſome private conference with her; where he was ſo graciouſly received, that, on his departure, he was heard to expreſs great ſatisfaction, and to thank God, that, though he had ſuffered much trouble and many ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home[1].

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the reſult of her ſurpriſe, and of the momentary ſatisfaction, which ſhe felt on the ſudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: After ſhe had leiſure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and ſhe thought it neceſſary, by ſome ſevere diſcipline, to ſubdue that haughty imperious ſpirit, who, preſuming on her partiality, had pretended to domineer in her councils, to engroſs all her favour, and to act, in the moſt important affairs, without regard to her orders and inſtructions. When Eſſex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him: She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his anſwers were calm and ſubmiſſive, ſhe committed him to the cuſtody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him ſequeſtered from all company, even from that of his counteſs, nor was ſo much as the intercourſe of letters permitted between them. Eſſex dropped many expreſſions of humiliation and ſorrow, none of reſentment: He profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the queen's will: Declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and buſineſs: But though he affected to be ſo entirely cured of his aſpiring ambition, the vexation of this diſ-

Is diſgraced.

[1] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 127.

appointment,

appointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty ſpirit, and he fell into a diſtemper, which ſeemed to put his life in danger. CHAP. XLIV. 1599.

THE queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himſelf, that the purpoſe of her ſeverity was to correct, not to ruin him[m]; and when ſhe heard of his ſickneſs, ſhe was not a little alarmed with his ſituation. She ordered eight phyſicians of the beſt reputation and experience to conſult of his caſe; and being informed, that the iſſue was much to be apprehended, ſhe ſent Dr. James to him with ſome broth, and deſired that phyſician to deliver him a meſſage, which ſhe probably deemed of ſtill greater virtue; that, if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would herſelf pay him a viſit. The byſtanders, who carefully obſerved her countenance, remarked that, in pronouncing theſe words, her eyes were ſuffuſed with tears[n].

WHEN the ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Eſſex were known, they gave a ſenſible alarm to the faction, which had declared their oppoſition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the moſt violent as well as the moſt ambitious of his enemies, was ſo affected with the appearance of this ſudden revolution, that he was ſeized with ſickneſs in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the ſame ſalve to his wound, and to ſend him a favourable meſſage, expreſſing her deſire of his recovery[o].

THE medicine, which the queen adminiſtered to theſe aſpiring rivals, was ſucceſsful with both; and Eſſex, being now allowed the company of his counteſs, and having entertained more promiſing hopes of his future fortunes, was ſo much reſtored in his health, as to be 1600.

[m] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444, 445. Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 196.
[n] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 151. [o] Ibid. p. 139.

thought

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1600.

thought paſt danger. A belief was inſtilled into Elizabeth, that his diſtemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compaſſion [p]; and ſhe relapſed into her former rigour againſt him. He wrote her a letter, and ſent her a rich preſent on New-Year's day; as was uſual with the courtiers at that time: She read the letter, but rejected the preſent [q]. After ſome interval, however, of ſeverity, ſhe allowed him to retire to his own houſe: And though he remained ſtill under cuſtody, and was ſequeſtered from all company, he was ſo grateful for this mark of lenity, that he ſent her a letter of thanks on the occaſion. "This farther degree of goodneſs," ſaid he, "doth ſound in my ears, as if your majeſty ſpake theſe "words, *Die not, Eſſex; for though I puniſh thine offence,* "*and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be ſerved* "*again by thee.* My proſtrate ſoul makes this anſwer: *I* "*hope for that bleſſed day.* And in expectation of it, all "my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, "and cheerfully borne by me [r]." The counteſs of Eſſex, daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, poſſeſſed, as well as her huſband, a refined taſte in literature; and the chief conſolation which Eſſex enjoyed, during this period of anxiety and expectation, conſiſted in her company, and in reading with her thoſe inſtructive and entertaining authors, which, even during the time of his greateſt proſperity, he had never entirely neglected.

THERE were ſeveral incidents which kept alive the queen's anger againſt Eſſex. Every account which ſhe received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his miſconduct in that government, and of the inſignificant purpoſes to which he had employed ſo much force and treaſure. Tyrone, ſo far from being quelled, had thought proper, in leſs than three months, to break

[p] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 153.
[q] Ibid. p. 155, 156.
[r] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444.

the

the truce; and joining with O'Donnel, and other rebels, had over-run almoſt the whole kingdom. He boaſted, that he was certain of receiving a ſupply of men, money, and arms from Spain: He pretended to be champion of the catholic religion: And he openly exulted in the preſent of a phœnix plume, which the pope, Clement VIII. in order to encourage him in the proſecution of ſo good a cauſe, had conſecrated, and had conferred upon him[s]. The queen, that ſhe might check his progreſs, returned to her former intention, of appointing Mountjoy lord-deputy; and though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Eſſex, and deſired his return to the government of Ireland, did at firſt very earneſtly excuſe himſelf, on account of his bad ſtate of health, ſhe obliged him to accept of the employment. Mountjoy found the iſland almoſt in a deſperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was ſo little diſcouraged, that he immediately advanced againſt Tyrone in Ulſter. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief ſeat of the rebels: He fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to bridle the Iriſh: He chaſed them from the field, and obliged them to take ſhelter in the woods and moraſſes: He employed, with equal ſucceſs, Sir George Carew in Munſter: And by theſe promiſing enterprizes, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that iſland.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

As the compariſon of Mountjoy's adminiſtration with that of Eſſex, contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, ſhe received additional diſguſt from the partiality of the people, who, prepoſſeſſed with an extravagant idea of Eſſex's merit, complained of the injuſtice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Libels were ſecretly diſperſed againſt Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies: And his popularity, which was always great, ſeemed rather to be encreaſed than dimi-

[s] Camden, p. 617.

niſhed

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1600.

niſhed by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to juſtify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expreſſed her intentions of having him tried in the Star-Chamber for his offences: But her tenderneſs for him prevailed at laſt over her ſeverity; and ſhe was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cauſe againſt him, and treated him with the cruelty and inſolence which that great lawyer uſually exerciſed againſt the unfortunate. He diſplayed, in the ſtrongeſt colours, all the faults committed by Eſſex in his adminiſtration of Ireland: His making Southampton general of the horſe, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deſerting the enterprize againſt Tyrone, and marching to Leinſter and Munſter; his conferring knighthood on too many perſons; his ſecret conference with Tyrone; and his ſudden return from Ireland, in contempt of her majeſty's commands. He alſo exaggerated the indignity of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propoſe; odious and abominable conditions, ſaid he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himſelf and every traitor in Ireland, and full reſtitution of lands and poſſeſſions to all of them [t]. The ſolicitor-general, Fleming, inſiſted upon the wretched ſituation, in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, ſon of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the preſent reign, cloſed the charge with diſplaying the undutiful expreſſions contained in ſome letters written by the earl.

Essex, when he came to plead in his own defence, renounced, with great ſubmiſſion and humility, all pretenſions to an apology [u]; and declared his reſolution never, on this or any other occaſion, to have any conteſt

[t] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449.

[u] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200.

with

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1600.

with his ſovereign. He ſaid, that, having ſevered himſelf from the world, and abjured all ſentiments of ambition, he had no ſcruple to confeſs every failing or error, into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities, might have betrayed him; that his inward ſorrow for his offences againſt her majeſty was ſo profound, that it exceeded all his outward croſſes and afflictions, nor had he any ſcruple of ſubmitting to a public confeſſion of whatever ſhe had been pleaſed to impute to him; that, in his acknowledgments, he retained only one reſerve, which he never would relinquiſh but with his life, the aſſertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earneſt deſire ever to perform to her majeſty the beſt ſervice which his poor abilities would permit; and that, if this ſentiment were allowed by the council, he willingly acquieſced in any condemnation or ſentence which they could pronounce againſt him. This ſubmiſſion was uttered with ſo much eloquence, and in ſo pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience[x]. All the privy-counſellors, in giving their judgment, made no ſcruple of doing the earl juſtice, with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the ſentence pronounced by the lord-keeper (to which the council aſſented), was in theſe words: "If this cauſe," ſaid he, "had been "heard in the Star-Chamber, my ſentence muſt have "been for as great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's "head in that court, together with perpetual confine-"ment in that priſon, which belongeth to a man of his "quality, the Tower. But ſince we are now in another "place, and in a courſe of favour, my cenſure is, that "the earl of Eſſex is not to execute the office of a coun-"ſellor, nor that of earl marſhal of England, nor of

[x] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200, 201.

"maſter

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"maſter of the ordnance; and to return to his own "houſe, there to continue a priſoner, till it ſhall pleaſe "her majeſty to releaſe this and all the reſt of his ſen-"tence[y]." The earl of Cumberland made a ſlight oppoſition to this ſentence; and ſaid, that, if he thought it would ſtand, he would have required a little more time to deliberate; that he deemed it ſomewhat ſevere; and that any commander in chief might eaſily incur a like penalty. But however, added he, in confidence of her majeſty's mercy, I agree with the reſt. The earl of Worceſter delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verſes; importing, that, where the Gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuſe for tranſgreſſions againſt the Divinity.

Bacon, ſo much diſtinguiſhed afterwards by his high offices, and ſtill more by his profound genius for the ſciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to lord Burleigh, and couſin-german to the ſecretary: But notwithſtanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with ſo little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his profeſſion. But Eſſex, who could diſtinguiſh merit, and who paſſionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendſhip with Bacon; had zealouſly attempted, though without ſucceſs, to procure him the office of ſolicitor-general; and in order to comfort his friend under the diſappointment, had conferred on him a preſent of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds[z]. The public could ill excuſe Bacon's appearance before the council, againſt ſo munificent a benefactor; though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands: But ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with his behaviour,

[y] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 454. Camden, p. 626, 627.
[z] Cabala, p. 78.

that

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that ſhe impoſed on him a new taſk, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to ſatisfy the public of the juſtice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmneſs of character, more than humanity, gave to the whole tranſaction the moſt favourable turn for Eſſex; and, in particular, painted out, in elaborate expreſſion, the dutiful ſubmiſſion which that nobleman diſcovered, in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, ſhe ſmiled at that paſſage, and obſerved to Bacon, that old love, ſhe ſaw, could not eaſily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped ſhe meant that of herſelf [a].

ALL the world, indeed, expected that Eſſex would ſoon be reinſtated in his former credit [b]; perhaps, as is uſual in reconcilements founded on inclination, would acquire an additional aſcendant over the queen, and after all his diſgraces, would again appear more a favourite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope, when they ſaw that, though he was ſtill prohibited from appearing at court [c], he was continued in his office of maſter of horſe, and was reſtored to his liberty, and that all his friends had acceſs to him. Eſſex himſelf ſeemed determined to perſevere in that conduct, which had hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful, and which the queen, by all this diſcipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: He wrote to her, that he kiſſed her majeſty's hands, and the rod with which ſhe had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulneſs, till ſhe deigned to admit him to that preſence, which had ever been the chief ſource of his happineſs and enjoyment: And that he had now reſolved to make amends for his paſt errors, to retire into a country ſolitude, and ſay with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beaſts of the

[a] Cabala, p. 83. [b] Winwood, vol. i. p. 254.
[c] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 462.

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"field; let me eat graſs as an ox, and be wet with the "dew of heaven; till it ſhall pleaſe the queen to reſtore "me to my underſtanding." The queen was much pleaſed with theſe ſentiments, and replied, that ſhe heartily wiſhed his actions might correſpond with his expreſſions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting ſhe ſhould now make ſome experiment of his ſubmiſſion; that her father would never have pardoned ſo much obſtinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced ſuch good effects, ſhe ſhould ever after have the better opinion of her chemiſtry [d].

THE earl of Eſſex poſſeſſed a monopoly of ſweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he conſidered this event as the critical circumſtance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinſtated in credit and authority [e]. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper ſomewhat haughty and ſevere; and being continually ſurrounded with Eſſex's enemies, means were found to perſuade her, that his lofty ſpirit was not yet ſufficiently ſubdued, and that he muſt undergo this farther trial, before he could again be ſafely received into favour. She therefore denied his requeſt; and even added, in a contemptuous ſtile, that an ungovernable beaſt muſt be ſtinted in his provender [f].

His intrigues.

THIS rigour, puſhed one ſtep too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the ſource of infinite ſorrow and vexation to the queen herſelf. Eſſex, who had with great difficulty ſo long ſubdued his proud ſpirit, and whoſe patience was now exhauſted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burſt at once all reſtraints of ſubmiſſion and of prudence, and determined to ſeek relief, by proceeding to the utmoſt extremities

[d] Camden, p. 628.
[e] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 472.
[f] Camden, p. 628.

againſt his enemies. Even during his greateſt favour he had ever been accuſtomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his ſovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was ſometimes ſucceſsful, he had imprudently imagined, that it was the only proper method of managing her [g]. But being now reduced to deſpair, he gave entire reins to his violent diſpoſition, and threw off all appearance of duty and reſpect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already poſſeſſed, he practiſed anew every art of popularity; and endeavoured to encreaſe the general good-will by a hoſpitable manner of life, little ſuited to his ſituation and circumſtances. His former employments had given him great connections with men of the military profeſſion; and he now entertained, by additional careſſes and civilities, a friendſhip with all deſperate adventurers, whoſe attachment, he hoped, might, in his preſent views, prove ſerviceable to him. He ſecretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief truſt lay in the puritans, whom he openly careſſed, and whoſe manners he ſeemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the moſt celebrated preachers of that ſect to reſort to Eſſex-houſe; he had daily prayers and ſermons in his family; and he invited all the zealots in London to attend thoſe pious exerciſes. Such was the diſpoſition now beginning to prevail among the Engliſh, that, inſtead of feaſting and public ſpectacles, the methods anciently practiſed to gain the populace, nothing ſo effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public, as theſe fanatical entertainments. And as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their ſermons the doctrine of reſiſtance to the civil magiſtrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for thoſe ſeditious projects, which Eſſex was ſecretly meditating [h].

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1600.

[g] Cabala, p. 79.

[h] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 463. Camden, p. 630.

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1600.

But the greateſt imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openneſs of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to ſucceed in ſuch difficult and dangerous enterprizes. He indulged himſelf in great liberties of ſpeech, and was even heard to ſay of the queen, that ſhe was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body [i]. Some court ladies, whoſe favours Eſſex had formerly neglected, carried her theſe ſtories, and incenſed her to a high degree againſt him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though ſhe was now approaching to her ſeventieth year, ſhe allowed her courtiers [k] and even foreign ambaſſadors [l], to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good ſenſe been able to cure her of this prepoſterous vanity [m].

There was alſo an expedient employed by Eſſex, which, if poſſible, was more provoking to the queen than thoſe ſarcaſms on her age and deformity; and that was, his ſecret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and ſucceſſor. That prince had this year very narrowly eſcaped a dangerous, though ill-formed, conſpiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this diſagreeable circumſtance, that the obſtinate eccleſiaſtics perſiſted, in ſpite of the moſt inconteſtible evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no ſuch conſpiracy. James, haraſſed with his turbulent and factious ſubjects, caſt a wiſhful eye to the ſucceſſion of England; and, in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his deſire encreaſed of mounting that throne, on which, beſides acquiring a great addition of power and ſplendor, he hoped to govern a people, ſo much more

[i] Camden, p. 629. Oſborne, p. 397. Sir Walter Raleigh's Prerogative of parliament, p. 43. [k] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. [l] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 171. [m] See note [KK] at the end of the volume.

tractable

tractable and ſubmiſſive. He negociated with all the courts of Europe, in order to enſure himſelf friends and partizans: He even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himſelf in no poſitive promiſe, he flattered the catholics with hopes, that, in the event of his ſucceſſion, they might expect ſome more liberty than was at preſent indulged them. Elizabeth was the only ſovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of ſucceſſion: He knew, that, though her advanced age might now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the crown, ſhe never could bear the proſpect of her own death without horror, and was determined ſtill to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependence upon her. CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

Essex was deſcended by females from the royal family; and ſome of his ſanguine partizans had been ſo imprudent as to mention his name among thoſe of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he ſecretly ſent into Scotland, to aſſure James, that, ſo far from entertaining ſuch ambitious views, he was determined to uſe every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of ſucceſſion. James willingly hearkened to this propoſal; but did not approve of the violent methods which Eſſex intended to employ. Eſſex had communicated his ſcheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a perſon of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the king of Scots her ſucceſſor[n]. And ſuch was Eſſex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he ſtill endeavoured to perſuade Mountjoy not to deſiſt from the

[n] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 471.

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project: But the deputy, who thought that ſuch violence, though it might be prudent, and even juſtifiable, when ſupported by a ſovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be raſh and criminal, if attempted by ſubjects, abſolutely refuſed his concurrence. The correſpondence, however, between Eſſex and the court of Scotland was ſtill conducted with great ſecrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, beſides conciliating the favour of James, repreſented all his own adverſaries as enemies to that prince's ſucceſſion, and as men entirely devoted to the intereſts of Spain, and partizans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

THE Infanta and the archduke, Albert, had made ſome advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was choſen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the Engliſh reſident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were ſent thither as ambaſſadors from England; and negociated with Zuniga, Carillo,

26th May. Richardot, and Verheiken, miniſters of Spain, and the archduke: But the conferences were ſoon broken off, by diſputes with regard to the ceremonial. Among the European ſtates England had ever been allowed the precedency above Caſtile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms, of which the Spaniſh monarchy was compoſed; and Elizabeth inſiſted, that this ancient right was not loſt on account of the junction of theſe ſtates, and that that monarchy, in its preſent ſituation, though it ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in extent, as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity, the only durable and regular foundation of precedency among kingdoms as well as noble families. That ſhe might ſhew, however, a pacific diſpoſition, ſhe was content to yield to an equality; but the Spaniſh miniſters, as their nation had always diſputed precedency even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no farther in the conference,

ence, till their ſuperiority of rank were acknowledged[o]. During the preparations for this abortive negociation, the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, lord Buckhurſt, treaſurer, and ſecretary Cecil, had diſcovered their inclination to peace; but as the Engliſh nation, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and ſanguine in their hopes of plunder and conqueſt, were in general averſe to that meaſure, it was eaſy for a perſon ſo popular as Eſſex, to infuſe into the multitude an opinion, that theſe miniſters had ſacrificed the intereſts of their country to Spain, and would even make no ſcruple of receiving a ſovereign from that hoſtile nation. CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

BUT Eſſex, not content with theſe arts for decrying his adverſaries, proceeded to concert more violent methods of ruining them; chiefly inſtigated by Cuffe, his ſecretary, a man of a bold and arrogant ſpirit, who had acquired a great aſcendant over his patron. A ſelect council of malcontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-houſe, and were compoſed of Sir Charles Davers, to whom the houſe belonged, the earl of Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, Sir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Eſſex, who boaſted, that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note, at his devotion, and who truſted ſtill more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his aſſociates thoſe ſecret deſigns with which his confidence in ſo powerful a party had inſpired him. Among other criminal projects, the reſult of blind rage and deſpair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms; and aſked their opinion whether he had beſt begin with ſeizing the palace or the Tower, or ſet out with making himſelf maſter at once of both places. The firſt enterprize being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was 1601.

[o] Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 136—226.

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1601. His inſurrection.

agreed, that Sir Chriſtopher Blount, with a choice detachment, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the palace gates; that Davies ſhould ſeize the hall, Davers the guard-chamber and preſence-chamber; and that Eſſex ſhould ruſh in from the Meuſe, attended by a body of his partizans; ſhould entreat the queen, with all demonſtrations of humility, to remove his enemies; ſhould oblige her to aſſemble a parliament; and ſhould with common conſent ſettle a new plan of government [q].

7th Feb.

WHILE theſe deſperate projects were in agitation, many reaſons of ſuſpicion were carried to the queen; and ſhe ſent Robert Sacville, ſon of the treaſurer, to Eſſex-houſe, on pretence of a viſit, but, in reality, with a view of diſcovering whether there were in that place any unuſual concourſe of people, or any extraordinary preparations, which might threaten an inſurrection. Soon after, Eſſex received a ſummons to attend the council, which met at the treaſurer's houſe; and while he was muſing on this circumſtance, and comparing it with the late unexpected viſit from Sacville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own ſafety. He concluded, that all his conſpiracy was diſcovered, at leaſt ſuſpected; and that the eaſieſt puniſhment which he had reaſon to apprehend, was a new and more ſevere confinement: He therefore excuſed himſelf to the council on pretence of an indiſpoſition; and he immediately diſpatched meſſages to his more intimate confederates, requeſting their advice and aſſiſtance in the preſent critical ſituation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they ſhould abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or inſtantly ſeize the palace with the force which they could aſſemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to

[q] Camden, p. 630. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 464. State Trials, Bacon, vol. iv. p. 542, 545.

have

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have a great attachment to the earl. Eſſex declared againſt the firſt expedient, and profeſſed himſelf determined to undergo any fate rather than ſubmit to live the life of a fugitive. To ſeize the palace ſeemed impracticable, without more preparations; eſpecially as the queen ſeemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had uſed the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themſelves to the city; and, while the prudence and feaſibility of this reſolution was under debate, a perſon arrived, who, as if he had received a commiſſion for the purpoſe, gave them aſſurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might ſecurely reſt any project on that foundation. The popularity of Eſſex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that, with no other aſſiſtance than the good-will of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wiſdom, ſupported by vigour, and concurring with the general ſentiments of the nation. The wild project of raiſing the city was immediately reſolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emiſſaries were diſpatched to all Eſſex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid ſchemes againſt his life, and entreating their preſence and aſſiſtance.

1601.

Next day, there appeared at Eſſex-houſe the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Eſſex informed them of the danger to which, he pretended, the machinations of his enemies expoſed him. To ſome he ſaid, that he would throw himſelf at the queen's feet, and crave her juſtice and protection: To others, he boaſted of his intereſt in the city, and affirmed, that, whatever might happen, this

8th Feb.

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this reſource could never fail him. The queen was informed of theſe deſigns, by means of intelligence conveyed, as is ſuppoſed, to Raleigh, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and, having ordered the magiſtrates of London to keep the citizens in readineſs, ſhe ſent Egerton, lord keeper, to Eſſex-houſe, with the earl of Worceſter, Sir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief juſtice, in order to learn the cauſe of theſe unuſual commotions. They were, with difficulty, admitted through a wicket; but all their ſervants were excluded, except the purſe-bearer. After ſome altercation, in which they charged Eſſex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced, in their turn, by the angry multitude who ſurrounded them, the earl, who found that matters were paſt recal, reſolved to leave them priſoners in his houſe, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He ſallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking ſwords; and, in his paſſage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwel. He cried aloud, *For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life*; and then proceeded to the houſe of Smith the ſheriff, on whoſe aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them that England was ſold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm inſtantly, otherwiſe they could not do him any ſervice, no one ſhowed a diſpoſition to join him. The ſheriff, on the earl's approach to his houſe, ſtole out at the back door, and made the beſt of his way to the mayor. Eſſex, meanwhile, obſerving the coldneſs of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to deſpair of ſucceſs, and thought of retreating to his own houſe. He found the ſtreets in his paſſage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens under the command of Sir John Leviſon. In his attempt to force his

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his way, Tracy, a young gentleman, to whom he bore great friendſhip, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himſelf, attended by a few of his partizans (for the greater part began ſecretly to withdraw themſelves), retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Eſſex-houſe. He there found, that Gorges, whom he had ſent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counſellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to deſpair; and appeared determined, in proſecution of lord Sandys' advice, to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and rather to periſh, like a brave man, with his ſword in his hand, than baſely by the hands of the executioner: But after ſome parley, and after demanding in vain, firſt hoſtages, then conditions from the beſiegers, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; requeſting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing [q].

19th Feb. His trial.

THE queen, who, during all this commotion, had behaved with as great tranquillity and ſecurity, as if there had only paſſed a fray in the ſtreets, in which ſhe was nowiſe concerned [r], ſoon gave orders for the trial of the moſt conſiderable of the criminals. The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurſt acted as lord ſteward. The guilt of the priſoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, beſides the inſurrection known to every body, the treaſonable conferences at Drury-houſe were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: The confeſſions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwel, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age. Eſſex's beſt

[q] Camden, p. 632. [r] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 469.

friends

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friends were ſcandalized at his aſſurance in inſiſting ſo poſitively on his innocence, and the goodneſs of his intentions; and ſtill more at his vindictive diſpoſition, in accuſing, without any appearance of reaſon, ſecretary Cecil as a partizan of the Infanta's title. The ſecretary, who had expected this charge, ſtepped into the court, and challenged Eſſex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous[a]. When ſentence was pronounced, Eſſex ſpoke like a man who expected nothing but death: But he added, that he ſhould be ſorry if he were repreſented to the queen as a perſon that deſpiſed her clemency; though he ſhould not, he believed, make any cringing ſubmiſſions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and ſubmiſſive: He entreated the good offices of the peers in ſo modeſt and becoming a manner as excited compaſſion in every one.

THE moſt remarkable circumſtance in Eſſex's trial was Bacon's appearance againſt him. He was none of the crown lawyers; ſo was not obliged by his office to aſſiſt at this trial: Yet did he not ſcruple, in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whoſe generoſity he had often experienced. He compared Eſſex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adverſaries, to that of Piſiſtratus, the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body; and making the people believe that his enemies had committed the violence, obtained a guard for his perſon, by whoſe aſſiſtance he afterwards ſubdued the liberties of his country.

AFTER Eſſex had paſſed ſome days in the ſolitude and reflections of a priſon, his proud heart was at laſt ſubdued, not by the fear of death, but by the ſentiments of

[a] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 530.

religion;

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religion; a principle which he had before attempted to make the inſtrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and conſideration. His ſpiritual directors perſuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of Heaven, unleſs he made a full confeſſion of his diſloyalty; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal deſigns, as well as of his correſpondence with the king of Scots. He ſpared not even his moſt intimate friends, ſuch as lord Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in theſe conſpiracies; and he ſought to pacify his preſent remorſe, by making ſuch atonements as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blameable than thoſe attempts themſelves which were the objects of his penitence[t]. Sir Harry Nevil, in particular, a man of merit, he accuſed of a correſpondence with the conſpirators; though it appears that this gentleman had never aſſented to the propoſals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treaſon; an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the ſtrongeſt reluctance[u]. Nevil was thrown into priſon, and underwent a ſevere perſecution: But, as the queen found Mountjoy an able and ſucceſsful commander, ſhe continued him in his government, and ſacrificed her reſentment to the public ſervice.

ELIZABETH affected extremely the praiſe of clemency; and in every great example which ſhe had made during her reign, ſhe had always appeared full of reluctance and heſitation: But the preſent ſituation of Eſſex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the moſt real agitation and irreſolution. She felt a perpetual combat between reſentment and inclination, pride and compaſſion, the care of her own ſafety and concern for her favourite; and her ſituation, during this interval, was

[t] Winwood, vol. i. p. 300. [u] Ibid. vol. i. p. 302.

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perhaps more an object of pity, than that to which Eſſex himſelf was reduced. She ſigned the warrant for his execution; ſhe countermanded it; ſhe again reſolved on his death; ſhe felt a new return of tenderneſs. Eſſex's enemies told her, that he himſelf deſired to die, and had aſſured her, that ſhe could never be in ſafety while he lived: It is likely, that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the fond affection which ſhe had ſo long indulged towards the unhappy priſoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart againſt him was his ſuppoſed obſtinacy in never making, as ſhe hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and ſhe finally gave her conſent to his execution. He diſcovered, at his death, ſymptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered.

25th Feb. And execution.

The execution was private in the Tower, agreeably to his own requeſt. He was apprehenſive, he ſaid, leſt the favour and compaſſion of the people would too much raiſe his heart in thoſe moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of Heaven was the only proper ſentiment which he could indulge[x]. And the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the removing of ſo melancholy a ſpectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpoſe, and who beheld Eſſex's execution from a window, encreaſed much, by this action, the general hatred under which he already laboured: It was thought that his ſole intention was to feaſt his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology, which he could make for ſo ungenerous a conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animoſity with which he urged on

[x] Dr. Barlow's ſermon on Eſſex's execution. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 534.

Eſſex

Eſſex's fate, even when Cecil relented[y], were ſtill regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour. CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

THE earl of Eſſex was but thirty-four years of age, when his raſhneſs, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. We muſt here, as in many other inſtances, lament the inconſtancy of human nature, that a perſon endowed with ſo many noble virtues, generoſity, ſincerity, friendſhip, valour, eloquence, and induſtry, ſhould, in the later period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable paſſions, and involved, not only himſelf, but many of his friends, in utter ruin. The queen's tenderneſs and paſſion for him, as it was the cauſe of thoſe premature honours which he attained, ſeems, on the whole, the chief circumſtance which brought on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtineſs which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in ſo advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged, by an imprudent openneſs, of which he made profeſſion, to diſcover too eaſily thoſe ſentiments to her. The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had ſtill made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he puſhed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that though the ſentiments of the woman were ever ſtrong in her, thoſe of the ſovereign had ſtill, in the end, appeared predominant.

SOME of Eſſex's aſſociates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davis, were tried and condemned, and all of theſe, except Davis, were executed. The queen pardoned the reſt; being perſuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendſhip to that nobleman, and their care of his ſafety; and were ignorant of the more crimi-

[y] Murdin, p. 811.

nal

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nal part of his intentions. Southampton's life was ſaved with great difficulty; but he was detained in priſon during the remainder of this reign.

THE king of Scots, apprehenſive leſt his correſpondence with Eſſex might have been diſcovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, ſent the earl of Marre and lord Kinloſs as ambaſſadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her eſcape from the late inſurrection and conſpiracy. They were alſo ordered to make ſecret enquiry, whether any meaſures had been taken by her for excluding him from the ſucceſſion, as well as to diſcover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counſellors, in caſe of the queen's demiſe [z]. They found the diſpoſitions of men as favourable as they could wiſh; and they even entered into a correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, whoſe influence, after the fall of Eſſex, was now uncontrouled [a], and who was reſolved, by this policy, to acquire, in time, the confidence of the ſucceſſor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James: But he afterwards aſſerted, that nothing could be more advantageous to her than this correſpondence; becauſe the king of Scots, ſecure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by thoſe connections with the Engliſh miniſtry, was the leſs likely to give any diſturbance to the preſent ſovereign. He alſo perſuaded that prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect that time ſhould open to him the inheritance of the crown, without puſhing his friends on deſperate enterprizes, which would totally incapacitate them from ſerving him. James's equity, as well as his natural facility of diſpoſition, eaſily inclined him to embrace that reſolution [b]; and in this manner the minds of the Engliſh were

[z] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 510.
[a] Oſborne, p. 615.
[b] Spotſwood, p. 471, 472.

ſilently,

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ſilently, but univerſally diſpoſed to admit, without oppoſition, the ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh line: The death of Eſſex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event.

THE French king, who was little prepoſſeſſed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reaſons, was averſe to the union of England and Scotland[c], made his ambaſſador drop ſome hints to Cecil of Henry's willingneſs to concur in any meaſure for diſappointing the hopes of the Scottiſh monarch; but as Cecil ſhowed an entire diſapprobation of ſuch ſchemes, the court of France took no farther ſteps in that matter; and thus, the only foreign power, which could give much diſturbance to James's ſucceſſion, was induced to acquieſce in it[d]. Henry made a journey this ſummer to Calais; and the queen, hearing of his intentions, went to Dover, in hopes of having a perſonal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, ſhe moſt loved and moſt reſpected. The king of France, who felt the ſame ſentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the propoſal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared neceſſary to lay aſide, by common conſent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote ſucceſſively two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by Sir Robert Sydney; in which ſhe expreſſed a deſire of conferring, about a buſineſs of importance, with ſome miniſter in whom that prince repoſed entire confidence. The marqueſs of Roſni, the king's favourite and prime miniſter, came to Dover in diſguiſe; and the Memoirs of that able ſtateſman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This princeſs had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing, in conjunction with Henry, a new ſyſtem in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new ſtates on the ruins of the houſe of Auſtria. She had even the

French affairs.

[c] Winwood, vol. i. p. 352. [d] Spotſwood, p. 471.

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prudence to foreſee the perils, which might enſue from the aggrandizement of her ally; and ſhe purpoſed to unite all the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier againſt the dangerous encreaſe of the French, as well as of the Spaniſh, monarchy. Henry had himſelf long meditated ſuch a project againſt the Auſtrian family; and Roſni could not forbear expreſſing his aſtoniſhment, when he found that Elizabeth and his maſter, though they had never communicated their ſentiments on this ſubject, not only had entered into the ſame general views, but had alſo formed the ſame plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a ſituation which might enable Henry to begin that great enterprize; and Roſni ſatisfied the queen, that it would be neceſſary to poſtpone for ſome years their united attack on the houſe of Auſtria. He departed, filled with juſt admiration at the ſolidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the greatneſs of her mind; and he owns, that ſhe was entirely worthy of that high reputation, which ſhe enjoyed in Europe.

THE queen's magnanimity in forming ſuch extenſive projects was the more remarkable, as, beſides her having fallen ſo far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with abilities and ſucceſs, were ſtill in diſorder, and made a great diverſion of her forces. The expence, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues; and her miniſters, taking advantage of her diſpoſition to frugality, propoſed to her an expedient of ſaving, which, though ſhe at firſt diſapproved of it, ſhe was at laſt induced to embrace. It was repreſented to her, that the great ſums of money, remitted to Ireland for the pay of the Engliſh forces, came, by the neceſſary courſe of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all neceſſary ſupplies of arms and

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and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom, and its want of every uſeful commodity, they could not otherwiſe find means to purchaſe. It was therefore recommended to her, that ſhe ſhould pay her forces in baſe money; and it was aſſerted, that, beſides the great ſaving to the revenue, this ſpecies of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not paſs in any foreign market. Some of her wiſer counſellors maintained, that, if the pay of the ſoldiers were raiſed in proportion, the Iriſh rebels would neceſſarily reap the ſame benefit from the baſe money, which would always be taken at a rate ſuitable to its value; if the pay were not raiſed, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would ſoon find from experience, that they were defrauded in their income[e]. But Elizabeth, though ſhe juſtly valued herſelf on fixing the ſtandard of the Engliſh coin, much debaſed by her predeceſſors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was ſeduced by the ſpecious arguments employed by the treaſurer on this occaſion; and ſhe coined a great quantity of baſe money, which he made uſe of in the pay of her forces in Ireland[f].

Mountjoy's ſucceſs in Ireland.

MOUNTJOY, the deputy, was a man of abilities; and foreſeeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them inſtantly into the field, and reſolved, by means of ſtrict diſcipline, and by keeping them employed againſt the enemy, to obviate thoſe inconveniences, which were juſtly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortreſs at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Geniſes out of Lecale; he haraſſed Tyrone in Ulſter with inroads and leſſer expeditions; and by deſtroying, every where, and during all ſeaſons, the proviſions of the Iriſh, he reduced them to periſh by famine in the woods and

[e] Camden, p. 643. [f] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 414.

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23d Sept. AT laſt the Spaniards, under Don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinſale; and Sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a ſmall garriſon of a hundred and fifty men, found himſelf obliged to abandon it on their appearance. Theſe invaders amounted to four thouſand men, and the Iriſh diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to join them, in order to free themſelves from the Engliſh government, with which they were extremely diſcontented. One chief ground of their complaint, was the introduction of trials by jury[g]; an inſtitution abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the ſupport of that equity and liberty, for which the Engliſh laws are ſo juſtly celebrated. The Iriſh alſo bore a great favour to the Spaniards, having entertained the

[g] Camden, p. 614.

opinion

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opinion that they themſelves were deſcended from that nation; and their attachment to the catholic religion proved a new cauſe of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila aſſumed the title of general *in the holy war for the preſervation of the faith* in Ireland; and he endeavoured to perſuade the people, that Elizabeth was, by ſeveral bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Iriſh from the dominion of the devil[h]. Mountjoy found it neceſſary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total inſurrection of the Iriſh; and having collected his forces, he formed the ſiege of Kinſale by land; while Sir Richard Leviſon, with a ſmall ſquadron, blockaded it by ſea. He had no ſooner begun his operations, than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thouſand Spaniards under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo, who had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppoſe their progreſs. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Iriſh, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinſale. The deputy, informed of their deſign by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and being reinforced by Leviſon with ſix hundred marines, he poſted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the paſſage of the enemy, leaving ſome cavalry to prevent a ſally from d'Aquila and the Spaniſh garriſon. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Iriſh and Spaniards, approached, he was ſurprized to find the Engliſh ſo well poſted, and ranged in good order; and he immediately ſounded a retreat: But the deputy gave orders to purſue him; and having thrown theſe advanced troops into diſorder, he followed

[h] Camden, p. 645.

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them to the main body, whom he alſo attacked, and put to flight, with the ſlaughter of twelve hundred men[l]. Ocampo was taken priſoner; Tyrone fled into Ulſter; O'Donnel made his eſcape into Spain; and d'Aquila, finding himſelf reduced to the greateſt difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon ſuch terms as the deputy preſcribed to him: He ſurrendered Kinſale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other ſucceſſes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into diſmay, and gave a proſpect of the final reduction of Ireland.

THE Iriſh war, though ſucceſsful, was extremely burthenſome on the queen's revenue; and beſides the ſupplies granted by parliament, which were indeed very ſmall, but which they ever regarded as mighty conceſſions, ſhe had been obliged, notwithſtanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, ſuch as ſelling the royal demeſnes and crown jewels[k], and exacting loans from the people[l]; in order to ſupport this cauſe, ſo eſſential to the honour and intereſts of England. The neceſſity of her affairs obliged her again to ſummon a parliament; and it here appeared, that, though old age was advancing faſt upon her, though ſhe had loſt much of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Eſſex, inſomuch that, when ſhe appeared in public, ſhe was not attended with the uſual acclamations[m], yet the powers of her prerogative, ſupported by her vigour, ſtill remained as high and uncontroulable as ever.

October 27. A parliament.

THE active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many perſons to diſtinguiſh themſelves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to

[l] Winwood, vol. i. p. 369. [k] D'Ewes, p. 629. [l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid. p. 602. Oſborne, p. 604.

their

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their ſervices, had made uſe of an expedient which had been employed by her predeceſſors, but which had never been carried to ſuch an extreme as under her adminiſtration. She granted her ſervants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and theſe patents they ſold to others, who were thereby enabled to raiſe commodities to what price they pleaſed, and who put invincible reſtraints upon all commerce, induſtry, and emulation in the arts. It is aſtoniſhing to conſider the number and importance of thoſe commodities, which were thus aſſigned over to patentees. Currants, ſalt, iron, powder, cards, calf-ſkins, fells, pouldavies, ox-ſhin-bones, train-oil, liſts of cloth, pot-aſhes, anniſeeds, vinegar, ſea-coals, ſteel, aquavitæ, bruſhes, pots, bottles, ſaltpetre, lead, accidences, oil, calamine-ſtone, oil of blubber, glaſſes, paper, ſtarch, tin, ſulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, tranſportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spaniſh wool, of Iriſh yarn: Theſe are but a part of the commodities, which had been appropriated to monopoliſts[n]. When this liſt was read in the houſe, a member cried, *Is not bread in the number? Bread*, ſaid every one with aſtoniſhment: *Yes, I aſſure you*, replied he, *if affairs go on at this rate, we ſhall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament*[o]. Theſe monopoliſts were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that in ſome places they raiſed the price of ſalt, from ſixteenpence a buſhel, to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings[p]. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to ſecure themſelves againſt encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppreſs the people at pleaſure, and to exact money from ſuch as they thought proper to accuſe of

[n] D'Ewes, p. 648. 650. 652.
[o] Ibid. p. 648.
[p] Ibid. p. 647.

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interfering with their patent[q]. The patentees of ſalt-petre, having the power of entering into every houſe, and of committing what havock they pleaſed in ſtables, cellars, or wherever they ſuſpected ſalt-petre might be gathered; commonly extorted money from thoſe who deſired to free themſelves from this damage or trouble[r]. And while all domeſtic intercourſe was thus reſtrained, leſt any ſcope ſhould remain for induſtry, almoſt every ſpecies of foreign commerce was confined to excluſive companies, who bought and ſold at any price that they themſelves thought proper to offer or exact.

THESE grievances, the moſt intolerable for the preſent, and the moſt pernicious in their conſequences, that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the laſt parliament, and a petition had even been preſented to the queen, complaining of the patents; but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in defending her monopoliſts againſt her people. A bill was now introduced into the lower houſe, aboliſhing all theſe monopolies; and as the former application had been unſucceſsful, a law was inſiſted on as the only certain expedient for correcting theſe abuſes. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained, that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for ſucceſs, if they did not make application, in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner, to the queen's goodneſs and beneficence. The topics, which were advanced in the houſe, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the moſt extraordinary to ſuch as are prepoſſeſſed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty poſſeſſed under the adminiſtration of Elizabeth. It was aſſerted, that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a reſtraining power; by her prerogative ſhe

[q] D'Ewes, p. 644. 646. 652. [r] Ibid. p. 653.

might

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might ſet at liberty what was reſtrained by ſtatute or otherwiſe, and by her prerogative ſhe might reſtrain what was otherwiſe at liberty[s]: That the royal prerogative was not to be canvaſſed nor diſputed nor examined[t]; and did not even admit of any limitation[u]: That abſolute princes, ſuch as the ſovereigns of England, were a ſpecies of divinity[x]: That it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or ſtatutes; ſince, by means of her diſpenſing power, ſhe could looſen herſelf at pleaſure[y]: And that even if a clauſe ſhould be annexed to a ſtatute, excluding her diſpenſing power, ſhe could firſt diſpenſe with that clauſe, and then with the ſtatute[z]. After all this diſcourſe, more worthy of a Turkiſh divan than of an Engliſh houſe of commons, according to our preſent idea of this aſſembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to ariſe, ſent for the ſpeaker, and deſired him to acquaint the houſe, that ſhe would immediately cancel the moſt grievous and oppreſſive of theſe patents[a].

THE houſe was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and admiration, and gratitude at this extraordinary inſtance of the queen's goodneſs and condeſcenſion. A member ſaid, with tears in his eyes, that, if a ſentence of everlaſting happineſs had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at preſent overwhelmed[b]. Another obſerved, that this meſſage from the ſacred perſon of the queen, was a kind of goſpel or glad-tidings, and ought to be received as ſuch, and be written in the tablets of their hearts[c]. And it was farther remarked, that, in the ſame manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, ſo the queen herſelf was the only agent in their preſent proſperity and

[s] D'Ewes, p. 644. 675. [t] Ibid. p. 644. 649. [u] Ibid. p. 646. 654. [x] Ibid. p. 649. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. p. 640. 646. [a] See note [LL] at the end of the volume.

[b] D'Ewes, p. 654. [c] Ibid. p. 656.

happineſs,

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happineſs [d]. The houſe voted that the ſpeaker, with a committee, ſhould aſk permiſſion to wait on her majeſty, and return thanks to her for her gracious conceſſions to her people.

When the ſpeaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themſelves on their knees; and remained in that poſture a conſiderable time, till ſhe thought proper to expreſs her deſire that they ſhould riſe [e]. The ſpeaker diſplayed the gratitude of the commons; becauſe her ſacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her bleſſed hands ever ſtretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he ſaid, in all duty and thankfulneſs acknowledged, that, before they called, her *preventing grace* and *all-deſerving goodneſs* watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could deſire, much leſs deſerve. He remarked, that the attribute which was moſt proper to God, to perform all he promiſeth, appertained alſo to her; and that ſhe was all truth, all conſtancy, and all goodneſs. And he concluded with theſe expreſſions, "Neither do we preſent our "thanks in words or any outward ſign, which can be "no ſufficient retribution for ſo great goodneſs; but in "all duty and thankfulneſs, proſtrate at your feet, we "preſent our moſt loyal and thankful hearts, even the "laſt drop of blood in our hearts, and the laſt ſpirit of "breath in our noſtrils, to be poured out, to be breathed "up, for your ſafety [f]." The queen heard very pati-

[d] D'Ewes, p. 657.

[e] We learn from Hentzners's Travels, that no one ſpoke to queen Elizabeth without kneeling; though now and then ſhe raiſed ſome with waving her hand. Nay, wherever ſhe turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her ſucceſſor firſt allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony; and as he exerted not the power, ſo he relinquiſhed the appearance, of deſpotiſm. Even when queen Elizabeth was abſent, thoſe who covered her table, though perſons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times.

[f] D'Ewes, p. 658, 659.

ently

ently this ſpeech, in which ſhe was flattered in phraſes appropriated to the Supreme Being; and ſhe returned an anſwer, full of ſuch expreſſions of tenderneſs towards her people, as ought to have appeared fulſome after the late inſtances of rigour which ſhe had employed, and from which nothing but neceſſity had made her depart. Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding, in time, from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity, and preſerved the affections of her people. CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

THE commons granted her a ſupply quite unprecedented, of four ſubſidies and eight fifteenths; and they were ſo dutiful as to vote this ſupply before they received any ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of monopolies, which they juſtly conſidered as of the utmoſt importance to the intereſt and happineſs of the nation. Had they attempted to extort that conceſſion by keeping the ſupply in ſuſpence; ſo haughty was the queen's diſpoſition, that this appearance of conſtraint and jealouſy had been ſufficient to have produced a denial of all their requeſts, and to have forced her into ſome acts of authority ſtill more violent and arbitrary.

THE remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in ſo much trouble, by fomenting and aſſiſting the Iriſh rebellion, reſolved to give them employment at home; and ſhe fitted out a ſquadron of nine ſhips, under Sir Richard Leviſon, admiral, and Sir William Monſon, vice-admiral, whom ſhe ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of Spain. The admiral, with part of the ſquadron, met the galleons loaded with treaſure; but was not ſtrong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral alſo fell in with ſome rich ſhips; but they eſcaped for a like reaſon; And theſe two brave officers, 1602.

that

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that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitleſs, reſolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra in Portugal; where, they received intelligence, a very rich carrack had taken ſhelter. The harbour was guarded by a caſtle: There were eleven gallies ſtationed in it: And the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thouſand men, appeared in arms on the ſhore: Yet, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the Engliſh ſquadron broke into the harbour, diſmounted the guns of the caſtle, ſunk, or burnt, or put to flight, the gallies, and obliged the carrack to ſurrender[g]. They brought her home to England, and ſhe was valued at a million of ducats[h]. A ſenſible loſs to the Spaniards; and a ſupply ſtill more important to Elizabeth[i].

1602.

The affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone, and the expulſion of the Spaniards, haſtened to a ſettlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into ſmall parties, and haraſſed the rebels on every ſide: He built Charlemont, and many other ſmall forts, which were impregnable to the Iriſh, and guarded all the important paſſes of the country: The activity of Sir Henry Docwray and Sir Arthur Chicheſter permitted no repoſe or ſecurity to the rebels: And many of the chieftains, after ſkulking, during ſome time, in woods and moraſſes, ſubmitted to mercy, and received ſuch conditions as the deputy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. Tyrone himſelf made application by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him, except he made an abſolute ſurrender of his

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[g] Monſon, p. 181. [h] Camden, p. 647.

[i] This year the Spaniards began the ſiege of Oſtend, which was bravely defended for five months by Sir Francis Vere. The ſtates then relieved him, by ſending a new governor; and on the whole the ſiege laſted three years, and is computed to have coſt the lives of a hundred thouſand men.

life

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life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millefont, in a habit and poſture ſuitable to his preſent fortune; and after acknowledging his offence in the moſt humble terms, he was committed to cuſtody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be diſpoſed of at the queen's pleaſure.

1603. Tyrone's ſubmiſſion.

BUT Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any ſatisfaction from this fortunate event: She had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her proſperous reign, were unable, in any degree, to alleviate or aſſuage. Some aſcribed this depreſſion of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom ſhe had always reſolved to bring to condign puniſhment for his treaſons, but who had made ſuch intereſt with the miniſters, as to extort a remiſſion from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection, by a diſcovery, which ſhe had made, of the correſpondence maintained in her court with her ſucceſſor the king of Scots, and by the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, ſhe imagined herſelf to be expoſed. But there is another cauſe aſſigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by hiſtorians as romantic, but which late diſcoveries ſeem to have confirmed[k]: Some incidents happened, which revived her tenderneſs for Eſſex, and filled her with the deepeſt ſorrow for the conſent which ſhe had unwarily given to his execution. Queen's ſickneſs;

THE earl of Eſſex, after his return from the fortunate expedition againſt Cadiz, obſerving the encreaſe of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occaſion to regret, that the neceſſity of her ſervice required him often to be abſent from her perſon, and expoſed him to all thoſe

[k] See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negociations, p. 206. And Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481. 505, 506, &c.

ill

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ill offices, which his enemies, more aſſiduous in their attendance, could employ againſt him. She was moved with this tender jealouſy; and making him the preſent of a ring, deſired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and aſſured him, that, into whatever diſgrace he ſhould fall, whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet, if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would immediately, upon the ſight of it, recall her former tenderneſs, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Eſſex, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, reſerved this precious gift to the laſt extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he reſolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to deliver it to the queen. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, the mortal enemy of Eſſex, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected that her favourite would make this laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, and who aſcribed the neglect of it to his invincible obſtinacy, was, after much delay, and many internal combats, puſhed by reſentment and policy to ſign the warrant for his execution. The counteſs of Nottingham, falling into ſickneſs, and affected with the near approach of death, was ſeized with remorſe for her conduct; and having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal ſecret. The queen, aſtoniſhed with this incident, burſt into a furious paſſion: She ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed; and crying to her, *That God might pardon her, but ſhe never could*, ſhe broke from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf over to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy. She rejected all conſolation: She even refuſed food and ſuſtenance: And throwing herſelf on the floor, ſhe remained ſullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and

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and exiſtence an inſufferable burthen to her. Few words ſhe uttered; and they were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief, which ſhe cared not to reveal: But ſighs and groans were the chief vent which ſhe gave to her deſpondency, and which, though they diſcovered her ſorrows, were never able to eaſe or aſſuage them. Ten days and nights ſhe lay upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her; and her phyſicians could not perſuade her to allow herſelf to be put to bed, much leſs to make trial of any remedies, which they preſcribed to her[1]. Her anxious mind, at laſt, had ſo long preyed on her frail body, that her end was viſibly approaching; and the council, being aſſembled, ſent the keeper, admiral, and ſecretary, to know her will with regard to her ſucceſſor. She anſwered with a faint voice, that, as ſhe had held a regal ſceptre, ſhe deſired no other than a royal ſucceſſor. Cecil requeſting her to explain herſelf more particularly, ſhe ſubjoined, that ſhe would have a king to ſucceed her; and who ſhould that be but her neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots? Being then adviſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe replied, that ſhe did ſo, nor did her mind in the leaſt wander from him. Her voice ſoon after left her; her ſenſes failed; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours; and ſhe expired gently, without farther ſtruggle or convulſion, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

and death, 24th March;

So dark a cloud overcaſt the evening of that day, which had ſhone out with a mighty luſtre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great perſonages in hiſtory, who have been more expoſed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there ſcarcely is any, whoſe reputation has been more certainly determined, by the unanimous conſent of poſ-

and character.

[1] Strype, vol. iv. N° 276.

terity.

CHAP. XLIV.

1603.

terity. The unuſual length of her adminiſtration, and the ſtrong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers ſomewhat of their panegyrics, have at laſt, in ſpite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animoſities, produced a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her conſtancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, addreſs, are allowed to merit the higheſt praiſes, and appear not to have been ſurpaſſed by any perſon that ever filled a throne: A conduct leſs rigorous, leſs imperious, more ſincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requiſite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, ſhe controuled all her more active and ſtronger qualities, and prevented them from running into exceſs: Her heroiſm was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendſhip from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: She guarded not herſelf with equal care or equal ſucceſs from leſſer infirmities; the rivalſhip of beauty, the deſire of admiration, the jealouſy of love, and the ſallies of anger.

Her ſingular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herſelf, ſhe ſoon obtained an uncontrouled aſcendant over her people; and while ſhe merited all their eſteem by her real virtues, ſhe alſo engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few ſovereigns of England ſucceeded to the throne in more difficult circumſtances; and none ever conducted the government with ſuch uniform ſucceſs and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true ſecret for managing religious factions, ſhe preſerved her people, by her ſuperior prudence, from thoſe confuſions, in which theological controverſy had involved all the neigh-

bouring nations: And though her enemies were the moſt powerful princes of Europe, the moſt active, the moſt enterpriſing, the leaſt ſcrupulous, ſhe was able by her vigour to make deep impreſſions on their ſtates: Her own greatneſs, meanwhile, remained untouched and unimpaired. CHAP. XLIV. 1603.

THE wiſe miniſters and brave warriors, who flouriſhed under her reign, ſhare the praiſe of her ſucceſs; but inſtead of leſſening the applauſe due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed, all of them, their advancement to her choice; they were ſupported by her conſtancy; and, with all their abilities, they were never able to acquire any undue aſcendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, ſhe remained equally miſtreſs: The force of the tender paſſions was great over her, but the force of her mind was ſtill ſuperior; and the combat, which her victory viſibly coſt her, ſerves only to diſplay the firmneſs of her reſolution, and the loftineſs of her ambitious ſentiments.

THE fame of this princeſs, though it has ſurmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies ſtill expoſed to another prejudice, which is more durable becauſe more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we ſurvey her, is capable either of exalting beyond meaſure, or diminiſhing the luſtre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the conſideration of her ſex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her great qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, ſome greater lenity of temper, ſome of thoſe amiable weakneſſes by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But the true method of eſtimating her merit, is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and conſider her merely as a rational being, placed in autho-

CHAP. XLIV. 1603.

rity, and entruſted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a miſtreſs; but her qualities as a ſovereign, though with ſome conſiderable exceptions, are the object of undiſputed applauſe and approbation.

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APPENDIX III.

Government of England—Revenues—Commerce—Military force——Manufactures——Learning.

THE party among us who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their adhering to liberty and a popular government, have long indulged their prejudices againſt the ſucceeding race of princes, by beſtowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wiſdom of Elizabeth. They have even been ſo extremely ignorant of the tranſactions of this reign, as to extol her for a quality which, of all others, ſhe was the leaſt poſſeſſed of; a tender regard for the conſtitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is ſcarcely poſſible for the prepoſſeſſions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts ſo palpable and undeniable, there is danger leſt the public ſhould run into the oppoſite extreme, and ſhould entertain an averſion to the memory of a princeſs who exerciſed the royal authority in a manner ſo contrary to all the ideas which we at preſent entertain of a legal conſtitution. But Elizabeth only ſupported the prerogatives tranſmitted to her by her predeceſſors: She believed that her ſubjects were entitled to no more liberty than their anceſtors had enjoyed: She found that they entirely acquieſced in her arbitrary adminiſtration: And it was not natural for her to find fault with a form of government by which ſhe herſelf was inveſted with ſuch unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power, the queſtion ought never to be forgotten,

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What is beſt? But in the general diſtribution of power among the ſeveral members of a conſtitution, there can ſeldom be admitted any other queſtion than *What is eſtabliſhed?* Few examples occur of princes who have willingly reſigned their power: None of thoſe who have, without ſtruggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than eſtabliſhed practice be followed, factions and diſſentions muſt multiply without end: And though many conſtitutions, and none more than the Britiſh, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praiſe beſtowed on thoſe patriots to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with ſome reſerve, and ſurely without the leaſt rancour againſt thoſe who adhered to the ancient conſtitution[1].

In order to underſtand the ancient conſtitution of England, there is not a period which deſerves more to be ſtudied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princeſs were ſcarcely ever diſputed, and ſhe therefore employed them without ſcruple: Her imperious temper, a circumſtance in which ſhe went far beyond her ſucceſſors, rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and diſcovered the full extent of her authority: The great popularity which ſhe enjoyed, proves that ſhe did not infringe any *eſtabliſhed* liberties of the people: There remains evidence ſufficient to aſcertain the moſt noted acts of her adminiſtration: And though that

1 By the ancient conſtitution, is here meant that which prevailed before the ſettlement of our preſent plan of liberty. There was a more ancient conſtitution, where, though the people had perhaps leſs liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had alſo leſs authority: The power of the barons was a great check upon him, and exerciſed great tyranny over them. But there was ſtill a more ancient conſtitution, viz. that before the ſigning of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almoſt wholly in the king. The Engliſh conſtitution, like all others, has been in a ſtate of continual fluctuation.

evidence muſt be drawn from a ſource wide of the ordinary hiſtorians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and ſerves as a ſtronger proof that her particular exertions of power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, ſince they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people, in former reigns, ſeem rather to have been more ſubmiſſive than even during the age of Elizabeth[m]: It may not here be improper to recount ſome of the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and lay open the ſources of that great power which the Engliſh monarchs formerly enjoyed.

One of the moſt ancient and moſt eſtabliſhed inſtruments of power was the court of Star-chamber, which poſſeſſed an unlimited diſcretionary authority of fining, impriſoning, and inflicting corporal puniſhment, and whoſe juriſdiction extended to all ſorts of offences, contempts, and diſorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court conſiſted of the privy council and the judges; men who, all of them, enjoyed their offices during pleaſure: And when the prince himſelf was preſent, he was the ſole judge, and all the others could only interpoſe with their advice. There needed but this one court in any government to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty: For who durſt ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the crown and miniſtry, or aſpire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while expoſed to ſo arbitrary a juriſdiction? I much queſtion whether any of the abſolute

[m] In a memorial of the ſtate of the realm, drawn by ſecretary Cecil, in 1569, there is this paſſage: "Then followeth the decay of obedience in "civil policy, which being compared with the fearfulneſs and reverence of "all inferior eſtates to their ſuperiors in times paſt, will aſtoniſh any wiſe and "conſiderate perſon, to behold the deſperation of reformation." Haynes, p. 586. Again, p. 588.

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monarchies in Europe contain, at preſent, ſo illegal and deſpotic a tribunal.

THE court of High Commiſſion was another juriſdiction ſtill more terrible; both becauſe the crime of hereſy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and becauſe its methods of inquiſition, and of adminiſtering oaths, were more contrary to all the moſt ſimple ideas of juſtice and equity. The fines and impriſonments impoſed by this court were frequent: The deprivations and ſuſpenſions of the clergy for nonconformity were alſo numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the eccleſiaſtics of England [n]. The queen, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſaid expreſsly, that ſhe was reſolved, "That no man ſhould "be ſuffered to decline, either on the left or on the right "hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and "by her laws and injunctions [o]."

BUT Martial Law went beyond even theſe two courts in a prompt, and arbitrary, and violent method of deciſion. Whenever there was any inſurrection or public diſorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exerciſed not only over the ſoldiers, but over the whole people: Any one might be puniſhed as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provoſt-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleaſed to ſuſpect. Lord Bacon ſays, that the trial at common law, granted to the earl of Eſſex and his fellow-conſpirators, was a favour; for that the caſe would have borne and required the ſeverity of martial law [p]. We have ſeen inſtances of its being employed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Suſſex, after the ſup-

[n] Neal, vol. i. p. 479. [o] Murden, p. 183. [p] Vol. iv. p. 519.

preſſion of the northern rebellion, in which ſhe ſharply reproves him, becauſe ſhe had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law[q]; though it is probable that near eight hundred perſons ſuffered, one way or other, on account of that ſlight inſurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exerciſe of this law to times of civil war and diſorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion or inſurrection, king Edward granted a commiſſion of martial law; and empowered the commiſſioners to execute it, *as ſhould be thought by their diſcretions moſt neceſſary*[r]. Queen Elizabeth too was not ſparing in the uſe of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being perſuaded that it was meritorious to kill ſuch as oppoſed the truth of the goſpel, ran into the ſtreets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous ſea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was ſo incenſed, that ſhe ordered him to be puniſhed inſtantly by martial law; but, upon the remonſtrance of ſome prudent counſellors, who told her that this law was uſually confined to turbulent times, ſhe recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law[s]. But ſhe continued not always ſo reſerved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of hers, in which ſhe orders martial law to be uſed againſt all ſuch as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets, from abroad[t]; and prohibits the queſtioning of the lieutenants, or their deputies, for their arbitrary puniſhment of ſuch offenders, *any law or ſtatute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding*. We have another act of hers ſtill more extraordinary. The ſtreets of London were much infeſted with idle vagabonds and riotous perſons: The lord mayor had endeavoured to repreſs

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q MS. of Lord Royſton's, from the Paper Office. r Strype's Eccleſ. Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 373. 458, 9. s Camden, p. 446. Strype, vol. ii. p. 288. t Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.

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this diſorder: The Star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted puniſhment on theſe rioters: But the queen, finding thoſe remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commiſſion of provoſt-martial: "Granting him authority, and commanding him, upon ſignification given by the juſtices of peace in London, or the neighbouring counties, of ſuch offenders, worthy to be ſpeedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the ſame perſons, and in the preſence of the ſaid juſtices, according to juſtice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to ſuch place where the ſaid rebellious and incorrigible offenders ſhall be found to have committed the ſaid great offences [u]." I ſuppoſe it would be difficult to produce an inſtance of ſuch an act of authority in any place nearer than Muſcovy. The patent of High Conſtable, granted to earl Rivers by Edward IV. proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force during peace, as well as during war and rebellion. The parliament, in Edward VIth's reign, acknowledged the juriſdiction of the Conſtable and Martial's-court to be part of the law of the land [w].

The Star-chamber, and High Commiſſion, and Court-martial, though arbitrary juriſdictions, had ſtill ſome pretence of a trial, at leaſt of a ſentence; but there was a grievous puniſhment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a ſecretary of ſtate, or of the privy-council [x]; and that was, impriſonment in any jail, and during any time that the miniſters ſhould think proper. In ſuſpicious times,

[u] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 279. [w] 7 Edw. VI. cap. 20. See Sir John Davis's Queſtion concerning Impoſitions, p. 9. [x] In 1588, the lord mayor committed ſeveral citizens to priſon, becauſe they refuſed to pay the loan demanded of them. Murden, p. 632.

all

all the jails were full of priſoners of ſtate; and theſe unhappy victims of public jealouſy were ſometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the moſt cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

THIS practice was an indirect way of employing torture: But the rack itſelf, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of juſtice[y], was frequently uſed, upon any ſuſpicion, by authority of a warrant from a ſecretary or the privy-council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commiſſion, to make uſe of torture whenever they thought proper[z]. There cannot be a ſtronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following ſtory, told by lord Bacon. We ſhall give it in his own words: "The "queen was mightily incenſed againſt Haywarde, on ac- "count of a book he dedicated to lord Eſſex, being a "ſtory of the firſt year of Henry IV. thinking it a ſedi- "tious prelude to put into the people's heads boldneſs "and faction[a]: She ſaid, ſhe had an opinion that there "was treaſon in it, and aſked me, If I could not find "any places in it, that might be drawn within the caſe "of treaſon? Whereto I anſwered, For treaſon, ſure I "found none; but for felony, very many: And when "her majeſty haſtily aſked me, Wherein? I told her, "the author had committed very apparent theft: For "he had taken moſt of the ſentences of Cornelius Ta- "citus, and tranſlated them into Engliſh, and put them "into his text. And another time, when the queen "could not be perſuaded, that it was his writing whoſe

y Harriſon, book ii. chap. 11. z Haynes, p. 196. See farther la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211. a To our apprehenſion, Haywarde's book ſeems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has there preſerved the famous ſpeech of the biſhop of Carliſle, which contains, in the moſt expreſs terms, the doctrine of paſſive obedience. But queen Elizabeth was very difficult to pleaſe on this head.

"name

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" name was to it, but that it had ſome more miſchievous " author, and ſaid, with great indignation, that ſhe " would have him racked to produce his author; I re- " plied, Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his " perſon, but rack his ſtyle: Let him have pen, ink, " and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to con- " tinue the ſtory where it breaketh off, and I will under- " take, by collating the ſtyles, to judge whether he were " the author or no[b]." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack, for a moſt innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the earl of Eſſex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majeſty's diſpleaſure.

THE queen's menace, of trying and puniſhing Haywarde for treaſon, could eaſily have been executed, let his book have been ever ſo innocent. While ſo many terrors hung over the people, no jury durſt have acquitted a man, when the court was reſolved to have him condemned. The practice alſo, of not confronting witneſſes with the priſoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage againſt him. And, indeed, there ſcarcely occurs an inſtance, during all theſe reigns, that the ſovereign, or the miniſters, were ever diſappointed in the iſſue of a proſecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleaſure, never failed to ſecond all the views of the crown. And as the practice was anciently common, of fining, impriſoning, or otherwiſe puniſhing the jurors, merely at the diſcretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of theſe dependent judges; it is obvious, that juries were then no manner of ſecurity to the liberty of the ſubject.

[b] Cabala, p. 81.

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THE power of preſſing, both for ſea and land ſervice, and obliging any perſon to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Oſborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. "In caſe ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions," ſays he, "ſhe did ſeaſonably "prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or "putting him upon ſome ſervice at home, which ſhe "knew leaſt grateful to the people: Contrary to a falſe "maxim, ſince practiſed with far worſe ſucceſs, by ſuch "princes as thought it better huſbandry to buy off ene"mies than reward friends [c]." The practice with which Oſborne reproaches the two immediate ſucceſſors of Elizabeth, proceeded partly from the extreme difficulty of their ſituation, partly from the greater lenity of their diſpoſition. The power of preſſing, as may naturally be imagined, was often abuſed, in other reſpects, by men of inferior rank; and officers often exacted money for freeing perſons from the ſervice [d].

THE government of England, during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this reſpect, ſome reſemblance of that of Turkey at preſent: The ſovereign poſſeſſed every power, except that of impoſing taxes: And in both countries this limitation, unſupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the Sultan to permit the extortion of the baſhas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards ſqueezes preſents or takes forfeitures: In England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for excluſive trade: An invention ſo pernicious, that, had ſhe gone on, during a track of years, at her own rate, England, the ſeat of riches, and arts,

[c] Page 392. [d] Murden, p. 181.

and

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and commerce, would have contained at preſent as little induſtry as Morocco, or the coaſt of Barbary.

We may farther obſerve, that this valuable privilege, valuable only becauſe it proved afterwards the means by which the parliament extorted all their other privileges, was very much encroached on, in an indirect manner, during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her predeceſſors. She often exacted loans from her people; an arbitrary and unequal kind of impoſition, and which individuals felt ſeverely: For though the money had been regularly repayed, which was ſeldom the caſe [e], it lay in the prince's hands without intereſt, which was a ſenſible loſs to the perſons from whom the money was borrowed [f].

There remains a propoſal made by lord Burleigh, for levying a general loan on the people, equivalent to a ſubſidy [g]; a ſcheme which would have laid the burthen more equally, but which was, in different words, a taxation, impoſed without conſent of parliament. It is remarkable, that the ſcheme, thus propoſed, without any viſible neceſſity, by that wiſe miniſter, is the very ſame which Henry VIII. executed, and which Charles I. enraged by ill uſage from his parliament, and reduced to the greateſt difficulties, put afterwards in practice, to the great diſcontent of the nation.

The demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was ſo little conceived to be irregular, that the commons, in 1585, offered the queen a benevolence; which ſhe very

[e] Bacon, vol iv. p. 362. [f] In the ſecond of Richard II. it was enacted that in loans, which the king ſhall require of his ſubjects, upon letters of Privy Seal, ſuch as have *reaſonable* excuſe of not lending, may there be received without further ſummons, travel, or grief. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 170. By this law, the king's prerogative of exacting loans was ratified; and what ought to be deemed a *reaſonable* excuſe, was ſtill left in his own breaſt to determine. [g] Haynes, p. 518, 519.

generouſly

generouſly refuſed, as having no occaſion, at that time, for money [h]. Queen Mary alſo, by an order of council, encreaſed the cuſtoms in ſome branches; and her ſiſter imitated the example [i]. There was a ſpecies of ſhip money impoſed at the time of the Spaniſh invaſion: The ſeveral ports were required to equip a certain number of veſſels at their own charge; and ſuch was the alacrity of the people for the public defence, that ſome of the ports, particularly London, ſent double the number demanded of them [k]. When any levies were made for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the queen obliged the counties to levy the ſoldiers, to arm and clothe them, and carry them to the ſea-ports at their own charge. New-year's gifts were, at that time, expected from the nobility, and from the more conſiderable gentry [l].

PURVEYANCE and pre-emption were alſo methods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppreſſive. The whole kingdom ſenſibly felt the burthen of thoſe impoſitions; and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of theſe univerſities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative, during the firſt years of her reign [m].

WARDSHIP was the moſt regular and legal of all theſe impoſitions by prerogative: Yet was it a great badge of ſlavery, and oppreſſive to all the conſiderable families. When an eſtate devolved to a female, the ſovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleaſed: Whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the eſtate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardſhip was a uſual method of rewarding a courtier or favourite.

[h] D'Ewes, p. 494. [i] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362. [k] Monſon, p. 267. [l] Strype's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 137. [m] Camden, p. 388.

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THE inventions were endleſs, which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the people imagined, that their property was ſecured by the crown's being debarred from impoſing taxes. Strype has preſerved a ſpeech of lord Burleigh to the queen and council, in which are contained ſome particulars not a little extraordinary [n]. Burleigh propoſes that ſhe ſhould erect a court for the correction of all abuſes, and ſhould confer on the commiſſioners a general inquiſitorial power over the whole kingdom. He ſets before her the example of her wiſe grandfather, Henry VII. who, by ſuch methods, extremely augmented his revenue; and he recommends, that this new court ſhould proceed, "as "well by the direction and ordinary courſe of the laws, "as by virtue of her majeſty's ſupreme regiment and "*abſolute power, from whence law proceeded.*" In a word, he expects from this inſtitution, greater acceſſion to the royal treaſure, than Henry VIII. derived from the abolition of the abbeys, and all the forfeitures of eccleſiaſtical revenues. This project of lord Burleigh's needs not, I think, any comment. A form of government muſt be very arbitrary indeed, where a wiſe and good miniſter could make ſuch a propoſal to the ſovereign.

EMBARGOES on merchandize was another engine of royal power, by which the Engliſh princes were able to extort money from the people. We have ſeen inſtances in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, iſſued an order to the cuſtom-houſe, prohibiting the ſale of all crimſon ſilks, which ſhould be imported, till the court were firſt ſupplied [o]. She expected, no doubt, a good penny-worth from the merchants, while they lay under this reſtraint.

[n] Annals, vol. iv. p. 234, & ſeq. [o] Strype, vol. i. p. 47.

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THE parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting ſubſidies; but this privilege was, during that age, ſtill more inſignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expreſsly prohibited them from meddling either with ſtate matters or eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and ſhe openly ſent the members to priſon, who dared to tranſgreſs her imperial edict in theſe particulars. There paſſed few ſeſſions of parliament, during her reign, where there occur not inſtances of this arbitrary conduct.

BUT the legiſlative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy; while the ſovereign was univerſally acknowledged to poſſeſs a diſpenſing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated, and rendered of no effect. The exerciſe of this power was alſo an indirect method practiſed for erecting monopolies. Where the ſtatutes laid any branch of manufacture under reſtrictions, the ſovereign, by exempting one perſon from the laws, gave him in effect the monopoly of that commodity [p]. There was no grievance, at that time, more univerſally complained of, than the frequent diſpenſing with the penal laws [q].

BUT, in reality, the crown poſſeſſed the full legiſlative power, by means of proclamations, which might affect any matter, even of the greateſt importance, and which the Star-chamber took care to ſee more rigorouſly executed than the laws themſelves. The motives for theſe proclamations were ſometimes frivolous, and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the ſmell of woad; and ſhe iſſued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that uſeful plant [r]. She was alſo pleaſed to take offence at the long ſwords and high ruffs then in faſhion: She ſent about her officers, to break every man's ſword, and clip every man's ruff, which was beyond a

[p] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 756. D'Ewes, p. 645. [q] Murden, p. 325. [r] Townſend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals.

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certain dimenſion[r]. This practice reſembles the method employed by the great Czar Peter, to make his ſubjects change their garb.

THE queen's prohibition of the *propheſyings*, or the aſſemblies inſtituted for fanatical prayers and conferences, was founded on a better reaſon; but ſhews ſtill the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Any number of perſons could not meet together, in order to read the ſcriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever ſo orthodox a manner, without her permiſſion.

THERE were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permiſſion from the ſovereign. The queen detained the earl of Southampton long in priſon, becauſe he privately married the earl of Eſſex's couſin[s]. No man could travel without the conſent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a ſevere perſecution, becauſe he had preſumed to pay a private viſit to the king of Scots[t]. The ſovereign even aſſumed a ſupreme and uncontrouled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any perſon to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported, or exported, without his conſent[u].

THE parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praiſed her for not imitating the practice, uſual among her predeceſſors, of ſtopping the courſe of juſtice by particular warrants[w]. There could not poſſibly be a greater abuſe, nor a ſtronger mark of arbitrary power; and the queen, in refraining from it, was very laudable. But ſhe was by no means conſtant in this reſerve. There remain in the public records ſome warrants of her's for exempting particular perſons ſtom all lawſuits and proſecutions[x]; and theſe war-

[r] Townſend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals. Strype, vol. ii. p. 603.
[s] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 422. [t] Ibid. p. 511.
[u] Sir John Davis's Queſtion concerning Impoſitions, paſſim.
[w] D'Ewes, p 141. [x] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 652. 708. 777.

rants,

rants, ſhe ſays, ſhe grants from her royal prerogative, which ſhe will not allow to be diſputed. Appendix III.

It was very uſual in queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy-counſellors to commit to priſon any one who had happened to diſpleaſe them, by ſuing for his juſt debts; and the unhappy perſon, though he gained his cauſe in the courts of juſtice, was commonly obliged to relinquiſh his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some, likewiſe, who had been delivered from priſon by the judges, were again committed to cuſtody in ſecret places, without any poſſibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and ſerjeants of the courts of law were puniſhed for executing the writs in favour of theſe perſons. Nay, it was uſual to ſend for people by purſuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commiſſion; and they were brought up to London, and conſtrained by impriſonment, not only to withdraw their lawful ſuits, but alſo to pay the purſuivants great ſums of money. The judges, in the 34th of the queen, complain to her majeſty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable, that ſo egregious a tyranny was carried no farther down than the reign of Elizabeth; ſince the parliament, who preſented the petition of right, found no later inſtances of it[y]. And even theſe very judges of Elizabeth who thus protect the people againſt the tyranny of the great, expreſsly allow, that a perſon, committed by ſpecial command of the queen, is not bailable.

It is eaſy to imagine that, in ſuch a government, no juſtice could, by courſe of law, be obtained of the ſovereign, unleſs he were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition, undertaken by Raleigh and Frobiſher againſt the Spaniards in the year 1592, a very rich carrack

y Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 511. Franklyn's Annals, p. 250, 251.

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was taken, worth two hundred thouſand pounds. The queen's ſhare in the adventure was only a tenth; but as the prize was ſo great, and exceeded ſo much the expectation of all the adventurers, ſhe was determined not to reſt contented with her ſhare. Raleigh humbly and earneſtly begged her to accept of a hundred thouſand pounds, in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and ſays, that the preſent which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thouſand pounds, was the greateſt that ever prince received from a ſubject[z].

But it is no wonder the queen, in her adminiſtration, ſhould pay ſo little regard to liberty; while the parliament itſelf, in enacting laws, was entirely negligent of it. The perſecuting ſtatutes, which they paſſed againſt papiſts and puritans, are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and by expoſing ſuch multitudes to the tyranny of prieſts and bigots, accuſtomed the people to the moſt diſgraceful ſubjection. Their conferring an unlimited ſupremacy on the queen, or, what is worſe, acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary ſervitude.

The law of the 23d of her reign, making ſeditious words againſt the queen capital, is alſo a very tyrannical ſtatute; and a uſe, no leſs tyrannical, was ſometimes made of it. The caſe of Udal, a puritanical clergyman, ſeems ſingular, even in thoſe arbitrary times. This man had publiſhed a book, called a demonſtration of diſcipline, in which he inveighed againſt the government of biſhops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into priſon upon ſuſpicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the biſhops were part of the queen's political body; and to ſpeak againſt them, was really to

[z] Strype, vol. iv. p. 128, 129.

attack

attack her, and was therefore felony by the ſtatute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was expoſed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention, or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a ſingle witneſs to the court: They only read the teſtimony of two perſons abſent, one of whom ſaid, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had ſaid ſo. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which, they ſaid, was never to be permitted againſt the crown[a]. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depoſe, that he was not author of the book; and his refuſal to make that depoſition was employed as the ſtrongeſt proof of his guilt. It is almoſt needleſs to add, that, notwithſtanding theſe multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury againſt Udal: For, as the queen was extremely bent upon his proſecution, it was impoſſible he could eſcape[b]. He died in priſon before execution of the ſentence.

THE caſe of Penry was, if poſſible, ſtill harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Browniſt, a ſmall ſect, which afterwards encreaſed, and received the name of Independants. He had written againſt the hierarchy ſeveral tracts, ſuch as Martin Marprelate, *Theſes Martinianæ*, and other compoſitions, full of low ſcurrility and petulant ſatire. After concealing himſelf for ſome years, he was ſeized; and, as the ſtatute againſt ſeditious words required that the criminal ſhould be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for ſome papers found in

[a] It was never fully eſtabliſhed that the priſoner could legally produce evidence againſt the crown, till after the revolution. See Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 352. [b] State Trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Id. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

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his pocket, as if he had thereby ſcattered ſedition[c]. It was alſo imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that, in ſome of theſe papers, "he had not only acknowledged her majeſty's royal power to *eſtabliſh* laws, eccleſiaſtical and civil; but had avoided the *uſual* terms of *making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws*: Which imply," ſays the lord keeper, "a moſt abſolute authority[d]." Penry, for theſe offences, was condemned and executed.

THUS we have ſeen, that the *moſt abſolute* authority of the ſovereign, to make uſe of the lord keeper's expreſſion, was eſtabliſhed on above twenty branches of prerogative, which are now aboliſhed, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the ſubject. But what enſured more effectually the ſlavery of the people, than even theſe branches of prerogative, was, the eſtabliſhed principles of the times, which attributed to the prince ſuch an unlimited and indefeizable power, as was ſuppoſed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumſcribed by none. The homilies, publiſhed for the uſe of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate every where a blind and unlimited paſſive obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, it is ever lawful for ſubjects, in the ſmalleſt article, to depart from or infringe. Much noiſe has been made, becauſe ſome court chaplains, during the ſucceeding reigns, were permitted to preach ſuch doctrines; but there is a great difference between theſe ſermons, and diſcourſes publiſhed by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation[e]. So thoroughly were theſe principles imbibed by the people,

[c] Strype's Life of Whitgift, book iv. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.

[d] Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 177. [e] Gifford, a clergyman, was ſuſpended in the year 1584, for preaching up a limited obedience to the civil magiſtrate. Neal, vol. i. p. 435.

during

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during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predeceſſors, that oppoſition to them was regarded as the moſt flagrant ſedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praiſe and approbation, which can alone ſupport men under ſuch dangers and difficulties as attend the reſiſtance of tyrannical authority [f]. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and ſpreading themſelves, under the ſhelter of puritanical abſurdities, became faſhionable among the people.

It is worth remarking, that the advantage uſually aſcribed to abſolute monarchy, a greater regularity of police, and a more ſtrict execution of the laws, did not attend the former Engliſh government, though in many reſpects it fell under that denomination. A demonſtration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper which is preſerved by Strype [g], and which was written by an eminent juſtice of peace of Somerſetſhire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen's reign; when the authority of that princeſs may be ſuppoſed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of the diſorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerſet. The author ſays, that forty perſons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-ſeven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three diſcharged: That thoſe who were diſcharged were moſt wicked and deſperate perſons,

[f] It is remarkable, that in all the hiſtorical plays of Shakeſpeare, where the manners and characters, and even the tranſactions of the ſeveral reigns are ſo exactly copied, there is ſcarcely any mention of *civil Liberty*, which ſome pretended hiſtorians have imagined to be the object of all the ancient quarrels, inſurrections, and civil wars. In the elaborate panegyric of England, contained in the tragedy of Richard II. and the detail of its advantages, not a word of its civil conſtitution, as anywiſe different from, or ſuperior to, that of other European kingdoms: An omiſſion which cannot be ſuppoſed in any Engliſh author that wrote ſince the Reſtoration, at leaſt ſince the Revolution.

[g] Annals, vol. iv. p. 290.

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who never could come to any good, becauſe they would not work, and none would take them into ſervice: That notwithſtanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number eſcaped cenſure, either from the ſuperior cunning of the felons, the remiſſneſs of the magiſtrates, or the fooliſh lenity of the people: That the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over the ſheep-folds, their paſtures, their woods, and their corn-fields: That the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somerſetſhire; and many of them were even in a worſe: That there were at leaſt three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who ſometimes met in troops to the number of ſixty, and committed ſpoil on the inhabitants: That if all the felons of this kind were aſſembled, they would be able, if reduced to good ſubjection, to give the greateſt enemy her majeſty has a *ſtrong battle*: And that the magiſtrates themſelves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were inſtances of juſtices of peace, who, after giving ſentence againſt rogues, had interpoſed to ſtop the execution of their own ſentence, on account of the danger, which hung over them from the confederates of theſe felons.

In the year 1575, the queen complained in parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened, that if the magiſtrates were not for the future more vigilant, ſhe would entruſt authority to indigent and needy perſons, who would find an intereſt in a more exact adminiſtration of juſtice [h]. It appears that ſhe was as good as her word. For in the year 1601, there were

[h] D'Ewes, p. 234.

great

great complaints made in parliament of the rapine of juſtices of peace; and a member ſaid, that this magiſtrate was an animal, who, for half a dozen of chickens, would diſpenſe with a dozen of penal ſtatutes[j]. It is not eaſy to account for this relaxation of government, and neglect of police, during a reign of ſo much vigour as that of Elizabeth. The ſmall revenue of the crown is the moſt likely cauſe that can be aſſigned. The queen had it not in her power to intereſt a great number in aſſiſting her to execute the laws[k].

On the whole, the Engliſh have no reaſon, from the example of their anceſtors, to be in love with the picture of abſolute monarchy; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince, and his unbounded prerogatives, to that noble liberty, that ſweet equality, and that happy ſecurity, by which they are at preſent diſtinguiſhed above all nations in the univerſe. The utmoſt that can be ſaid in favour of the government of that age (and perhaps it may be ſaid with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exerciſed after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the adminiſtration; that the inſtances of a high exerted prerogative were not ſo frequent as to render property ſenſibly inſecure, or reduce the people to a total ſervitude; that the freedom from faction, the quickneſs of execution, and the promptitude of thoſe meaſures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made ſome compenſation for the want of a legal and determinate liberty; that as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium to which the people had been accuſtomed; and that this ſituation of England, though ſeemingly it approached nearer, was in reality more remote from a deſpotic and eaſtern monarchy than the preſent government

[j] D'Ewes, p. 661—664. [k] See note [MM] at the end of the volume.

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of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceleſs, and diſarmed; and beſides, are not ſecured by any middle power, or independent powerful nobility, interpoſed between them and the monarch.

WE ſhall cloſe the preſent Appendix with a brief account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning of England during this period.

Revenues.

QUEEN Elizabeth's œconomy was remarkable; and in ſome inſtances ſeemed to border on avarice. The ſmalleſt expence, if it could poſſibly be ſpared, appeared conſiderable in her eyes; and even the charge of an expreſs during the moſt delicate tranſactions was not below her notice[l]. She was alſo attentive to every profit; and embraced opportunities of gain, which may appear ſomewhat extraordinary. She kept, for inſtance, the ſee of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue[m]; and it was uſual with her, when ſhe promoted a biſhop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the ſee of ſome of its manors[n]. But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper, appears from this circumſtance, that ſhe never amaſſed any treaſure; and even refuſed ſubſidies from the parliament, when ſhe had no preſent occaſion for them. Yet we muſt not conclude, from this circumſtance, that her œconomy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: She loaded them with monopolies and excluſive patents, which are much

[l] Birch's Negot. p. 21. [m] Strype, vol. iv. p. 357. [n] Ibid. p. 215. There is a curious letter of the queen's, written to a biſhop of Ely, and preſerved in the regiſter of that ſee. It is in theſe words: *Proud prelate, I underſtand you are backward in complying with your agreement: But I would have you know, that I, who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will immediately unfrock you. Yours as you demean yourſelf,* ELIZABETH. The biſhop, it ſeems, had promiſed to exchange ſome part of the land belonging to the ſee for a pretended equivalent, and did ſo, but it was in conſequence of the above letter. Annual Regiſter, 1761, p. 15.

more

more oppreſſive than the moſt heavy taxes, levied in an equal and regular manner. The real ſource of her frugal conduct was derived from her deſire of independency, and her care to preſerve her dignity, which would have been endangered, had ſhe reduced herſelf to the neceſſity of having frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies. In conſequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in ſucceſsful and neceſſary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demeſnes[o], than demand the moſt moderate ſupplies from the commons. As ſhe lived unmarried, and had no poſterity, ſhe was content to ſerve her preſent turn, though at the expence of her ſucceſſors; who, by reaſon of this policy, joined to other circumſtances, found themſelves, on a ſudden, reduced to the moſt extreme indigence.

The ſplendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a ſingle woman, and expenſive in no kind of magnificence, except clothes, this circumſtance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is ſaid to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and ſiſter; an incredible ſum for that age[p]. The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thouſand pounds: And the king of France four hundred and fifty thouſand[q]. Though that prince was extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins, was continually amaſſing treaſure, the queen never could, by the moſt preſſing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of thoſe ſums, which ſhe had ſo generouſly advanced him, during his greateſt diſtreſſes. One

[o] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 141. D'Ewes, p. 151. 457. 525. 619. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 363. [p] D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it impoſſible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccleſ. Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed but 300,000 pounds. I own, that this laſt ſum appears a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

[q] Winwood, vol. i. p. 29. 54.

payment

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payment of twenty thouſand crowns, and another of fifty thouſand, were all ſhe could obtain, by the ſtrongeſt repreſentations ſhe could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her[t]. The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the ſum of one million three hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the pittance of a double ſubſidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, granted her by parliament[u]. In the year 1599, ſhe ſpent ſix hundred thouſand pounds in ſix months on the ſervice of Ireland[v]. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that, in ten years, Ireland coſt her three millions four hundred thouſand pounds[w]. She gave the earl of Eſſex a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom[x]. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts, conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds; a ſum, which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her ſtrong affection towards him! It was a common ſaying during this reign; *The queen pays bountifully, though ſhe rewards ſparingly*[x].

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much ſhort of five hundred thouſand pounds a-year[y]. In the year 1590, ſhe raiſed the cuſtoms from fourteen thouſand pounds a-year to fifty thouſand, and obliged Sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund ſome of his former profits[z].

[t] Winwood, vol. i. p. 117. 395. [u] D'Ewes, p. 483. [v] Camden, p. 167. [w] Appendix to the earl of Eſſex's apology. [x] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. [x] Nanton's Regalia, chap. 1.

[y] Franklyn in his annals, p. 9. ſays, that the profit of the kingdom, beſides wards and the dutchy of Lancaſter (*which amounted to about* 120,000 *pounds*), was 188,197 pounds! The crown lands ſeem to be comprehended in this computation.

[z] Camden, p. 558. This account of Camden is difficult or impoſſible to be reconciled to the ſtate of the cuſtoms in the beginning of the ſubſequent reign, as they appear in the journals of the commons. See Hiſt. of James, chap. 46.

This

This improvement of the revenue was owing to the ſuggeſtions of one Caermarthen; and was oppoſed by Burleigh, Leiceſter, and Walſingham: But the queen's perſeverance overcame all their oppoſition. The great undertakings, which ſhe executed with ſo narrow a revenue, and with ſuch ſmall ſupplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wiſdom and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during the courſe of her whole reign, only twenty ſubſidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. I pretend not to determine exactly the amount of theſe ſupplies; becauſe the value of a ſubſidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thouſand pounds[a], though in the beginning it had been a hundred and twenty thouſand. If we ſuppoſe, that the ſupplies, granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years, amounted to three millions, we ſhall not probably be much wide of the truth[b]. This ſum makes

[a] D' Ewes, p. 630.

[b] Lord Saliſbury computed theſe ſupplies only at 2,800,000 pounds. Journ. 17 Feb. 1609. King James was certainly miſtaken when he eſtimated the queen's annual ſupplies at 137,000 pounds, Franklyn, p. 44. It is curious to obſerve, that the miniſter, in the war begun in 1754, was, in ſome periods, allowed to laviſh in two months as great a ſum as was granted by parliament to queen Elizabeth in forty-five years. The extreme frivolous object of the late war, and the great importance of hers, ſet this matter in ſtill a ſtronger light. Money too, we may obſerve, was in moſt particulars of the ſame value in both periods: She payed eight pence a day to every foot ſoldier. But our late deluſions have much exceeded any thing known in hiſtory, not even excepting thoſe of the cruſades. For, I ſuppoſe, there is no mathematical, ſtill leſs an arithmetical demonſtration, that the road to the Holy Land was not the road to Paradiſe, as there is, that the endleſs increaſe of national debts is the direct road to national ruin. But having now completely reached that goal, it is needleſs at preſent to reflect on the paſt. It will be found in the preſent year, 1776, that all the revenues of this iſland, north of Trent and weſt of Reading, are mortgaged or anticipated for ever. Could the ſmall remainder be in a worſe condition, were thoſe provinces ſeized by Auſtria and Pruſſia? There is only this difference, that ſome event might happen in Europe, which would oblige theſe great monarchs to diſgorge their acquiſitions. But no imagination can figure a ſituation, which will induce our

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makes only ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds a-year; and it is ſurpriſing, that, while the queen's demands were ſo moderate, and her expences ſo well regulated, ſhe ſhould ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a ſupply from parliament, or be reduced to make ſale of the crown-lands. But ſuch was the extreme, I had almoſt ſaid, abſurd parſimony of the parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in compariſon of their money. The members had no connexion with the court; and the very idea, which they conceived of the truſt committed to them, was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few ſupplies as poſſible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the parliament in no other light than as a means of ſupply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of ſeldom ſummoning parliaments[c]. No redreſs of grievances was expected from theſe aſſemblies: They were ſuppoſed to meet for no other purpoſe than to impoſe taxes.

BEFORE the reign of Elizabeth, the Engliſh princes had uſually recourſe to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was ſo low, that beſides paying the high intereſt of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity. Sir Thomas Greſham, that great and enterprizing merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees eſtabliſhed itſelf in the city, and ſhe ſhook off this dependence on foreigners[d].

IN the year 1559, however, the queen employed Greſham to borrow for her two hundred thouſand pounds

our creditors to relinquiſh their claims, or the public to ſeize their revenues. So egregious indeed has been our folly, that we have even loſt all title to compaſſion, in the numberleſs calamities that are waiting us.

[c] Strype, vol. iv. p. 124. [d] Stowe's Survey of London, book i. p. 286.

at

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at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debaſed[e]. She was ſo impolitic as to make, herſelf, an innovation in the coin; by dividing a pound of ſilver into ſixty-two ſhillings, inſtead of ſixty, the former ſtandard. This is the laſt time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

Commerce.

QUEEN Elizabeth, ſenſible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was deſirous to encourage commerce and navigation: But as her monopolies tended to extinguiſh all domeſtic induſtry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to ſerve the purpoſe at which ſhe aimed, much leſs to promote the riches of her people. The excluſive companies alſo were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the ſpirit of the age was ſtrongly bent on naval enterprizes; and beſides the military expeditions againſt the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new diſcoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the Engliſh. Sir Martin Frobiſher undertook three fruitleſs voyages to diſcover the north-weſt paſſage: Davis, not diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, made a new attempt, when he diſcovered the ſtraits, which paſs by his name. In the year 1600, the queen granted the firſt patent to the Eaſt-India company: The ſtock of that company was ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; and they fitted out four ſhips, under the command of James Lancaſter, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was ſucceſsful; and the ſhips, returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

THE communication with Muſcovy had been opened in queen Mary's time by the diſcovery of the paſſage to

[e] MS. of lord Royſton's from the paper office, p. 295.

Archangel:

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Archangel: But the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar an exclusive patent to the English for the whole trade of Muscovy[f]; and she entered into a personal, as well as national, alliance with him. This czar was named John Basilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually suspecting the revolt of his subjects, stipulated to have a safe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to ensure this resource, he purposed to marry an English woman; and the queen intended to have sent him lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon: But when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, she wisely declined purchasing an empire at the expence of her ease and safety[g].

The English, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained from Basilides, ventured farther into those countries, than any Europeans had formerly done. They transported their goods along the river Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the stream as far as Walogda. Thence they carried their commodities seven days journey by land to Yeraslau, and then down the Volga to Astracan. At Astracan, they built ships, crossed the Caspian Sea, and distributed their manufactures into Persia. But this bold attempt met with such discouragements, that it was never renewed[h].

After the death of John Basilides, his son Theodore revoked the patent, which the English enjoyed for a monopoly of the Russian trade: When the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that princes must carry an indifferent hand, as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not con-

[f] Camden, p. 408. [g] Ibid. p. 493. [h] Ibid. p. 428.

vert trade, which, by the laws of nations, ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few[i]. So much juſter notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian, than appear in the conduct of the renowned queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued ſome privileges to the Engliſh, on account of their being the diſcoverers of the communication between Europe and his country.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time, the grand ſignior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France[k]; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the Engliſh, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

The merchants of the Hanſe-towns complained loudly, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, of the treatment which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that, as ſhe would not innovate any thing, ſhe would ſtill protect them in the immunities and privileges, of which ſhe found them poſſeſſed. This anſwer not contenting them, their commerce was ſoon after ſuſpended for a time, to the great advantage of the Engliſh merchants, who tried what they could themſelves effect for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and their returns proving ſucceſsful, they divided themſelves into ſtaplers and merchant adventurers; the former reſiding conſtantly at one place, the latter trying their fortunes in other towns and ſtates abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This ſucceſs ſo enraged

[i] Camden, p. 493.

[k] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 36.

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the Hanſe-towns, that they tried all the methods, which a diſcontented people could deviſe, to draw upon the Engliſh merchants the ill opinion of other nations and ſtates. They prevailed ſo far as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the Engliſh were prohibited all commerce in the empire: The queen, by way of retaliation, retained ſixty of their ſhips, which had been ſeized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. Theſe ſhips the queen intended to have reſtored, as deſiring to have compromiſed all differences with thoſe trading cities; but when ſhe was informed, that a general aſſembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh trade, ſhe cauſed the ſhips and cargoes to be confiſcated: Only two of them were releaſed to carry home the news, and to inform theſe ſtates, that ſhe had the greateſt contempt imaginable for all their proceedings[l].

HENRY VIII. in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ſhips from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice: But Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing; both by building ſome ſhips of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading veſſels, which, on occaſion, were converted into ſhips of war[m]. In the year 1582, the ſeamen in England were found to be fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five men[n]; the number of veſſels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and ſeventeen above eighty tons. Monſon pretends, that, though navigation decayed in the firſt years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms[o], yet before the year 1640, this number of ſeamen was tripled in England[p].

l Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 470.
m Camden, p. 388.
n Monſon, p. 256.
o Ibid. p. 300.
p Ibid. p. 210. 256.

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Military force.

THE navy, which the queen left at her deceaſe, appears conſiderable, when we reflect only on the number of veſſels, which were forty-two: But when we conſider that none of theſe ſhips carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ſhips of a thouſand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, ſome of fifty, and ſome even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four [q]; we muſt entertain a contemptible idea of the Engliſh navy, compared to the force which it has now attained [r]. In the year 1588, there were not above five veſſels, fitted out by the noblemen and ſea-ports, which exceeded two hundred tons [s].

IN the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invaſion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppoſe them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this ſudden armament. In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thouſand nine hundred and twenty-nine [t]. A diſtribution was made, in the year 1595, of a hundred and forty thouſand men, beſides thoſe which Wales could ſupply [u]. Theſe armies were formidable by their numbers; but their diſcipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over, and plundered the eaſt coaſt: So unfit was the militia, as it was then conſtituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were firſt appointed to the counties in this reign.

MR. MURDEN [w] has publiſhed from the Saliſbury collections a paper, which contains the military force of the

[q] Monſon, p. 196. The Engliſh navy at preſent carries about 14,000 guns. [r] See note [NN] at the end of the volume. [s] Monſon p. 300. [t] Lives of the admirals, vol. i. p. 432. [u] Strype, vol. iv. p. 221. [w] P. 608.

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nation at the time of the Spaniſh Armada, and which is ſomewhat different from the account given by our ordinary hiſtorians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thouſand five hundred and thirteen; thoſe armed, to eighty thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five; of whom forty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven were trained. It muſt be ſuppoſed that theſe able-bodied men conſiſted of ſuch only as were regiſtered, otherwiſe the ſmall number is not to be accounted for. Yet Sir Edward [x] Coke ſaid in the houſe of commons, that he was employed about the ſame time, together with Popham, chief juſtice, to take a ſurvey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be 900,000 of all ſorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, ſuppoſes that there were above 200,000 men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is ſurprizingly ſmall. Can we ſuppoſe that the kingdom is ſix or ſeven times more populous at preſent? And that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding catholics and children and infirm perſons?

HARRISON ſays, that in the muſters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for ſervice amounted to 1,172,674; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Such uncertainty and contradiction are there in all theſe accounts. Notwithſtanding the greatneſs of this number, the ſame author complains much of the decay of populouſneſs: A vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

WHATEVER opinion we may form of the comparative populouſneſs of England in different periods, it muſt be allowed, that, abſtracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increaſe of power in that, more perhaps than in any other European ſtate ſince the beginning of the laſt

[x] Journ. 25 April, 1621.

century.

century. It would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland alone could at preſent exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and aſſert, that one good county in England is able to make, at leaſt to ſupport, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of in the reign of Harry V.; when the maintenance of a garriſon in a ſmall town, like Calais, formed more than a third of the ordinary national expence. Such are the effects of liberty, induſtry, and good government!

THE ſtate of the Engliſh manufactures was at this time very low; and foreign wares of almoſt all kinds had the preference[y]. About the year 1590, there were in London four perſons only rated in the ſubſidy-books ſo high as four hundred pounds[z]. This computation is not indeed to be deemed an exact eſtimate of their wealth. In 1567, there were found, on enquiry, to be four thouſand eight hundred and fifty-one ſtrangers of all nations in London: Of whom three thouſand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots[a]. The perſecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England; and the commerce, as well as manufactures of that kingdom, was very much improved by them[b]. It was then that Sir Thomas Greſham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants: The queen viſited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

BY a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word, uſury, which formerly meant the taking of any intereſt for money, came now to expreſs only the taking of exorbitant and illegal intereſt. An act, paſſed in 1571, violently condemns all uſury; but permits ten per cent. intereſt to be

y D'Ewes, p. 505. z Id. p. 497. a Haynes, p. 461, 462.
b Stowe, p. 668.

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payed. Henry IV. of France reduced intereſt to 6½ per cent.: An indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

Dr. Howell ſays [c], that queen Elizabeth, in the third of her reign, was preſented with a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings by her ſilkwoman, and never wore cloth hoſe any more. The author of the preſent State of England ſays, that about 1577, pocket watches were firſt brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the uſe of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel [d]. Before that time, the queen, on public occaſions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Camden ſays, that in 1581, Randolph, ſo much employed by the queen in foreign embaſſies, poſſeſſed the office of poſt-maſter general of England. It appears, therefore, that poſts were then eſtabliſhed; though, from Charles I.'s regulations in 1635, it would ſeem, that few poſt-houſes were erected before that time.

In a remonſtrance of the Hanſe Towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported annually about 200,000 pieces of cloth [e]. This number ſeems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the firſt law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar obſervation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the encreaſe of incloſures and decay of tillage; and he aſcribes the reaſon very juſtly to the reſtraints put on the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of paſturage, ſuch as wool, hides, leather, tallow, &c. Theſe prohibitions of exportation

[c] Hiſtory of the World, vol. ii. p. 222. [d] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 421. [e] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 424.

were

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were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good ſucceſs. From the ſame author we learn, that the complaints, renewed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing[f]. There ſeems, indeed, to have been two periods in which prices roſe remarkably in England, namely, that in queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the preſent age. Between the two, there ſeems to have been a ſtagnation. It would appear that induſtry, during that intermediate period, encreaſed as faſt as gold and ſilver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money.

THERE were two attempts made in this reign to ſettle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: But neither of theſe projects proved ſucceſsful. All thoſe noble ſettlements were made in the following reigns. The current ſpecie of the kingdom, in the end of this reign, is computed at four millions[g].

THE earl of Leiceſter deſired Sir Francis Walſingham, then ambaſſador in France, to provide him with a riding maſter in that country, to whom he promiſes a hundred pounds a-year, beſide maintaining himſelf and ſervant and a couple of horſes. "I know," adds the earl, "that ſuch a man as I want may receive higher wages

[f] A compendious or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen. The author ſays, that in 20 or 30 years before 1581, commodities had, in general, riſen 50 per cent; ſome more. Cannot you, neighbour, remember, ſays he, that, within theſe 30 years, I could in this town buy the beſt pig or gooſe I could lay my hands on for four pence, which now coſteth twelve-pence, a good capon for three-pence, or four-pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence, p. 35. Yet the price of ordinary labour was then eight-pence a day, p. 31.

[g] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475.

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" in France: But let him conſider, that a ſhilling in " England goes as far as two ſhillings in France[h]." It is known that every thing is much changed ſince that time.

Manners.

THE nobility in this age ſtill ſupported, in ſome degree, the ancient magnificence in their hoſpitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expences in this laſt particular[i]. The expence of hoſpitality ſhe ſomewhat encouraged, by the frequent viſits ſhe paid her nobility, and the ſumptuous feaſts which ſhe received from them[k]. The earl of Leiceſter gave her an entertainment in Kenilworth Caſtle, which was extraordinary for expence and magnificence. Among other particulars, we are told, that three hundred and ſixty-five hogſheads of beer were drunk at it[l]. The earl had fortified this caſtle at great expence; and it contained arms for ten thouſand men[m]. The earl of Derby had a family conſiſting of two hundred and forty ſervants[n]. Stowe remarks it as a ſingular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary ſervices from them: A proof that the great power of the ſovereign (what was almoſt unavoidable) had very generally coun-

[h] Digges's Complete Ambaſſador. [i] Strype, vol. iii. Append. p. 54.

[k] Harriſon, after enumerating the queen's palaces, adds: " But what " ſhall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what houſes the queen's " majeſty hath? Sith all is hers; and when it pleaſeth her, in the ſummer " ſeaſon, to recreate herſelf abroad, and view the eſtate of the country, and " hear the complaints of her poor commons injured by her unjuſt officers or " their ſubſtitutes, every nobleman's houſe is her palace, where ſhe conti- " nueth during pleaſure, and till ſhe return again to ſome of her own, in " which ſhe remaineth ſo long as ſhe pleaſeth." Book ii. chap. xv. Surely one may ſay of ſuch a gueſt, what Cicero ſays to Atticus, on occaſion of a viſit payed him by Cæſar. Hoſpes tamen non is cui diceres, amabo te, eòdem ad me cum revertêre. Lib. xiii. Ep. 52. If ſhe relieved the people from oppreſſions (to whom it ſeems the law could give no relief), her viſits were a great oppreſſion on the nobility.

[l] Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. p. 1791. [m] Strype, vol. iii. p. 394.

[n] Stowe, p. 674.

tenanced

tenanced the nobility in tyrannizing over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal eſtate, kept a family conſiſting of a hundred ſervants [o]. He had a ſtanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perſons of meaner condition, which were always ſerved alike, whether he were in town or in the country. About his perſon he had people of great diſtinction, inſomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thouſand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary ſervants, who were worth from a thouſand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thouſand pounds [p]. It is to be remarked, that, though the revenues of the crown were at that time very ſmall, the miniſters and courtiers ſometimes found means, by employing the boundleſs prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is poſſible for them at preſent to amaſs, from their larger ſalaries, and more limited authority.

BURLEIGH entertained the queen twelve ſeveral times in his country houſe; where ſhe remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each viſit coſt him two or three thouſand pounds [q]. The quantity of ſilver plate poſſeſſed by this nobleman is ſurpriſing: No leſs than fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds weight [r]; which, beſides the faſhion, would be above forty-two thouſand pounds ſterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only 4000 pounds a-year in land, and 11,000 pounds in money; and as land was then commonly ſold at ten years purchaſe, his plate was nearly equal to all the reſt of his fortune. It appears, that little value was then put upon the faſhion of the plate, which probably was but rude: The weight was chiefly conſidered [s].

[o] Strype, vol. iii. p. 129. Append. [p] Life of Burleigh publiſhed by Collins. [q] Ibid. p. 40. [r] See note [OO] at the end of the volume.

[s] This appears from Burleigh's will: He ſpecifies only the number of ounces to be given to each legatee, and appoints a goldſmith to ſee it weighed out to them, without making any diſtinction of the pieces.

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BUT, though there were preſerved great remains of the ancient cuſtoms, the nobility were, by degrees, acquiring a taſte for elegant luxury; and many edifices, in particular, were built by them, neat, large, and ſumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, ſays Camden[t]; but to the no leſs decay of the glorious hoſpitality of the nation. It is, however, more reaſonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and induſtry; while the ancient hoſpitality was the ſource of vice, diſorder, ſedition, and idleneſs[u].

AMONG the other ſpecies of luxury, that of apparel began much to encreaſe during this age; and the queen thought proper to reſtrain it by proclamation[w]. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more deſirous of making impreſſion on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or ſtudied more the variety and richneſs of her dreſſes. She appeared almoſt every day in a different habit; and tried all the ſeveral modes by which ſhe hoped to render herſelf agreeable. She was alſo ſo fond of her clothes, that ſhe never could part with any of them; and at her death ſhe had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thouſand, which ſhe had ever worn in her life-time[x].

THE retrenchment of the ancient hoſpitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the ſovereign; and, by diſabling the great noblemen from reſiſtance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of juſtice. There were many peculiar cauſes in the ſituation and

[t] Page 452.
[u] See note [PP] at the end of the volume.
[w] Camden, p. 452.
[x] Carte, vol. iii, p. 702. from Beaumont's Diſpatches.

character

character of Henry VII. which augmented the authority of the crown: Moſt of theſe cauſes concurred in ſucceeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquiſition of the ſupremacy, a moſt important article of prerogative: But the manners of the age were a general cauſe which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminiſh the riches, and ſtill more the influence, of the ariſtocracy anciently ſo formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury diſſipated the immenſe fortunes of the ancient barons; and as the new methods of expence gave ſubſiſtence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own induſtry, a nobleman, inſtead of that unlimited aſcendant which he was wont to aſſume over thoſe who were maintained at his board, or ſubſiſted by ſalaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence which cuſtomers have over tradeſmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors alſo, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the beſt account with regard to profit, and either incloſing their fields, or joining many ſmall farms into a few large ones, diſmiſſed thoſe uſeleſs hands, which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to ſubvert the government, or oppoſe a neighbouring baron. By all theſe means the cities encreaſed; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who, in effect, was the ſame with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and though the farther progreſs of the ſame cauſes begat a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the riſe of this order, the ſovereign took advantage of the preſent ſituation, and aſſumed an authority almoſt abſolute.

WHATEVER

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WHATEVER may be commonly imagined, from the authority of lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contributed very little towards the great revolution which happened about this period in the Engliſh conſtitution. The practice of breaking entails, by a fine and recovery, had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal ſanction to the practice, by reforming ſome abuſes which attended it. But the ſettled authority which he acquired to the crown, enabled the ſovereign to encroach on the ſeparate juriſdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the ſame fate as the feudal powers; and, by a ſtatute of Henry VIII. [y], the juriſdiction of theſe counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cauſe of the ſecret revolution of government, and ſubverted the power of the barons. There appear ſtill in this reign ſome remains of the ancient ſlavery of the boors and peaſants [z], but none afterwards.

Learning.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in high eſtimation by the Engliſh princes and nobles; and as it was not yet proſtituted by being too common; even the Great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may, on one account or other, be admitted into the claſs of authors. Queen Catherine Parr tranſlated a book: Lady Jane Gray, conſidering her age, and her ſex, and her ſtation, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raiſed from being profeſſor in Cambridge, firſt to be ambaſſador to France, then ſecretary of ſtate. The diſpatches of

y 27 Hen. VIII. c. 24.

z Rymer, tom. xv. p. 731.

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thoſe times, and among others thoſe of Burleigh himſelf, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin claſſics. Even the ladies of the court valued themſelves on knowledge: Lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two ſiſters, were miſtreſſes of the ancient, as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

QUEEN Elizabeth wrote and tranſlated ſeveral books; and ſhe was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue[a]. It is pretended, that ſhe made an extemporary reply in Greek to the univerſity of Cambridge, who had addreſſed her in that language. It is certain, that ſhe anſwered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very ſpirited manner, to the Poliſh ambaſſador, who had been wanting in reſpect to her. When ſhe had finiſhed, ſhe turned about to her courtiers, and ſaid, "God's death, my lords," (for ſhe was much addicted to ſwearing) "I have been forced this day to ſcour up "my old Latin, that hath long lain ruſting[b]." Elizabeth, even after ſhe was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and, next to her deſire of admiration for beauty, this ſeems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She tranſlated Boethius of the Conſolation of Philoſophy; in order, as ſhe pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.'s change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compoſitions, we may pronounce, that, notwithſtanding her application, and her excellent parts, her taſte in literature was but indifferent: She was much inferior to her ſucceſſor in this particular, who was himſelf no perfect model of eloquence.

UNHAPPILY for literature, at leaſt for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in ſhining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her

[a] See note [QQ] at the end of the volume. [b] Speed.

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liberality. Spenſer himſelf, the fineſt Engliſh writer of his age, was long neglected; and after the death of Sir Philip Sydney, his patron, was allowed to die almoſt for want. This poet contains great beauties, a ſweet and harmonious verſification, eaſy elocution, a fine imagination: Yet does the peruſal of his work become ſo tedious, that one never finiſhes it from the mere pleaſure which it affords: It ſoon becomes a kind of taſk-reading; and it requires ſome effort and reſolution to carry us on to the end of his long performance. This effect, of which every one is conſcious, is uſually aſcribed to the change of manners: But manners have more changed ſince Homer's age; and yet that poet remains ſtill the favourite of every reader of taſte and judgment. Homer copied true natural manners, which, however rough or uncultivated, will always form an agreeable and intereſting picture: But the pencil of the Engliſh poet was employed in drawing the affectations, and conceits, and fopperies of chivalry, which appear ridiculous as ſoon as they loſe the recommendation of the mode. The tedioufneſs of continued allegory, and that too ſeldom ſtriking or ingenious, has alſo contributed to render the *Fairy Queen* peculiarly tireſome; not to mention the too great frequency of its deſcriptions, and the languor of its ſtanza. Upon the whole, Spenſer maintains his place upon the ſhelves among our Engliſh claſſics: But he is ſeldom ſeen on the table; and there is ſcarcely any one, if he dares to be ingenuous, but will confeſs, that, notwithſtanding all the merit of the poet, he affords an entertainment with which the palate is ſoon ſatiated. Several writers of late have amuſed themſelves in copying the ſtyle of Spenſer; and no imitation has been ſo indifferent as not to bear a great reſemblance to the original: His manner is ſo peculiar, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to tranſfer ſome of it into the copy.

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NOTES

TO THE

FIFTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 13.

THE parliament alſo granted the queen the duties of tonnage and poundage; but this conceſſion was at that time regarded only as a matter of form, and ſhe had levied theſe duties before they were voted by parliament: But there was another exertion of power which ſhe practiſed, and which people, in the preſent age, from their ignorance of ancient practices, may be apt to think a little extraordinary. Her ſiſter, after the commencement of the war with France, had, from her own authority, impoſed four marks on each ton of wine imported, and had encreaſed the poundage a third on all commodities. Queen Elizabeth continued theſe impoſitions as long as ſhe thought convenient. The parliament, who had ſo good an opportunity of reſtraining theſe arbitrary taxes, when they voted the tonnage and poundage, thought not proper to make any mention of them. They knew that the ſovereign, during that age, pretended to have the ſole regulation of foreign trade, and that their intermeddling with that prerogative would have drawn on them the ſevereſt reproof, if not chaſtiſement. See Forbes, vol. i. p. 132, 133. We know certainly, from the ſtatutes and journals, that no ſuch impoſitions were granted by parliament.

NOTE [B], p. 26.

KNOX, p. 127. We ſhall ſuggeſt afterwards ſome reaſons to ſuſpect, that, perhaps, no expreſs promiſe was ever given. Calumnies eaſily ariſe during times of faction, eſpecially

eſpecially thoſe of the religious kind, when men think every art lawful for promoting their purpoſe. The congregation in their manifeſto, in which they enumerate all the articles of the regent's mal-adminiſtration, do not reproach her with this breach of promiſe. It was probably nothing but a rumour ſpread abroad to catch the populace. If the papiſts have ſometimes maintained, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, their adverſaries ſeem alſo to have thought, that no truth ought to be told of idolaters.

NOTE [C], p. 30.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 146. Melvil, p. 29. Knox, p. 225. 228. Leſly, lib. x. That there was really no violation of the capitulation of Perth, appears from the manifeſto of the congregation in Knox, p. 184. in which it is not ſo much as pretended. The companies of Scotch ſoldiers were, probably, in Scotch pay, ſince the congregation complains, that the country was oppreſſed with taxes to maintain armies. Knox, p. 164, 165. And even if they had been in French pay, it had been no breach of the capitulation, ſince they were national troops, not French. Knox does not ſay, p. 139, that any of the inhabitants of Perth were tried or puniſhed for their paſt offences; but only that they were oppreſſed with the quartering of ſoldiers: And the congregation, in their manifeſto, ſay only that many of them had fled for fear. This plain detection of the calumny, with regard to the breach of the capitulation of Perth, may make us ſuſpect a like calumny with regard to the pretended promiſe not to give ſentence againſt the miniſters. The affair lay altogether between the regent and the laird of Dun; and that gentleman, though a man of ſenſe and character, might be willing to take ſome general profeſſions for promiſes. If the queen, overawed by the power of the congregation, gave ſuch a promiſe in order to have liberty to proceed to a ſentence; how could ſhe expect to have power to execute a ſentence ſo inſidiouſly obtained? And to what purpoſe could it ſerve?

NOTE [D], p. 31.

KNOX, p. 153, 154, 155. This author pretends that this article was agreed to verbally, but that the queen's ſcribes omitted it in the treaty which was ſigned. The ſtory is very unlikely, or rather very abſurd; and in the mean time it is allowed, that the article is not in the treaty: Nor do the congregation, in their ſubſequent manifeſto, inſiſt upon it. Knox, p. 184. Beſides, Would the queen regent, in an article of a treaty, call her own religion idolatry?

NOTE [E], p. 33.

THE Scotch lords, in their declaration, ſay, "How far "we have ſought ſupport of England, or of any other "prince, and what juſt cauſe we had and have ſo to do, we "ſhall ſhortly make manifeſt unto the world, to the praiſe of "God's holy name, and to the confuſion of all thoſe that "ſlander us for ſo doing: For this we fear not to confeſs, "that, as in this enterprize againſt the devil, againſt idolatry "and the maintainers of the ſame, we chiefly and only ſeek "God's glory to be notified unto men, ſin to be puniſhed, "and virtue to be maintained; ſo where power faileth of our-"ſelves, we will ſeek it, whereſoever God ſhall offer the "ſame." Knox, p. 176.

NOTE [F], p. 80.

THIS year the council of Trent was diſſolved, which had ſitten from 1545. The publication of its decrees excited anew the general ferment in Europe; while the catholics endeavoured to enforce the acceptance of them, and the proteſtants rejected them. The religious controverſies were too far advanced to expect that any conviction would reſult from the decrees of this council. It is the only general council which has been held in an age truly learned and inquiſitive; and as the hiſtory of it has been written with great penetration and judgment, it has tended very much to expoſe clerical uſurpations and intrigues, and may ſerve us as a ſpecimen of more ancient councils. No one expects to ſee another general council, till the decay of learning and the progreſs of ignorance ſhall again fit mankind for theſe great impoſtures.

NOTE [G], p. 90.

IT appears, however, from Randolf's Letters, (See Keith, p. 290.) that ſome offers had been made to that miniſter, of ſeizing Lenox and Darnley, and delivering them into queen Elizabeth's hands. Melvil confirms the ſame ſtory, and ſays, that the deſign was acknowledged by the conſpirators, p. 56. This ſerves to juſtify the account given by the queen's party of the Raid of Baith, as it is called. See farther, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 358. The other conſpiracy, of which Murray complained, is much more uncertain, and is founded on very doubtful evidence.

NOTE [H], p. 96.

BUCHANAN confeſſes that Rizzio was ugly; but it may be inferred, from the narration of that author, that he was young. He ſays, that on the return of the duke of Savoy to Turin, Rizzio was *in adoleſcentiæ vigore*, in the vigour of youth. Now that event happened only a few years before, lib. xvii. cap. 44. That Bothwel was young, appears, among many other invincible proofs, from Mary's inſtructions to the biſhop of Dumblain, her ambaſſador at Paris; where ſhe ſays, that in 1559, only eight years before, he was *very young*. He might therefore have been about thirty when he married her. See Keith's Hiſtory, p. 388. From the appendix to the *epiſtolæ regum Scotorum*, it appears, by authentic documents, that Patrick, earl of Bothwel, father to James, who eſpouſed queen Mary, was alive, till near the year 1560. Buchanan, by a miſtake, which has been long ago corrected, calls him James.

NOTE [I], p. 110.

MARY herſelf confeſſed, in her inſtructions to the ambaſſadors whom ſhe ſent to France, that Bothwel perſuaded all the noblemen, that their application in favour of his marriage was agreeable to her, Keith, p. 389. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 94. Murray afterwards produced to queen Elizabeth's commiſſioners, a paper ſigned by Mary, by which ſhe permitted them to make this application to her. This permiſſion was a ſufficient declaration of her intentions, and was eſteemed equivalent to a command. Anderſon, vol. iv. p. 59. They even aſſerted that the houſe, in which they met, was ſurrounded with armed men. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 141.

NOTE [K], p. 141.

MARY's complaints of the queen's partiality in admitting Murray to a conference, was a mere pretext, in order to break off the conference. She indeed employs that reaſon in her order for that purpoſe (ſee Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184), but in her private letter, her commiſſioners are directed to make uſe of that order to prevent her honour from being attacked, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 183. It was therefore the accuſation only ſhe was afraid of. Murray was the leaſt obnoxious of all her enemies: He was abroad when her ſubjects rebelled and reduced her to captivity: He had only accepted of the regency, when voluntarily proffered him by the nation. His being admitted to queen Elizabeth's preſence was therefore a very bad foundation for a quarrel, or for breaking off the conference; and was plainly a mere pretence.

NOTE [L], p. 143.

WE ſhall not enter into a long diſcuſſion concerning the authenticity of theſe letters: We ſhall only remark in general, that the chief objections againſt them are, that they are ſuppoſed to have paſſed through the earl of Morton's hands, the leaſt ſcrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are, to the laſt degree, indecent, and even ſomewhat inelegant, ſuch as it is not likely ſhe would write. But to theſe preſumptions we may oppoſe the following conſiderations. (1.) Though it be not difficult to counterfeit a ſubſcription, it is very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to counterfeit ſeveral pages, ſo as to reſemble exactly the hand-writing of any perſon. Theſe letters were examined and compared with Mary's hand-writing, by the Engliſh privy-council, and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were ſeveral partizans of that princeſs. They might have been examined by the biſhop of Roſs, Herreis, and others of Mary's commiſſioners. The regent muſt have expected that they would be very critically examined by them: And had they not been able to ſtand that teſt, he was only preparing a ſcene of confuſion to himſelf. Biſhop Leſly expreſsly declines the

comparing of the hands, which he calls no legal proof, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 389. (2.) The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been, in order to ſerve the purpoſes of Mary's enemies; a circumſtance which encreaſed the difficulty, and expoſed any forgery the more to the riſk of a detection. (3.) They are not ſo groſs and palpable as forgeries commonly are; for they ſtill left a pretext for Mary's friends to aſſert, that their meaning was ſtrained to make them appear criminal; ſee Goodall, vol. ii. p. 361. (4.) There is a long contract of marriage, ſaid to be written by the earl of Huntley, and ſigned by the queen, before Bothwell's acquittal. Would Morton, without any neceſſity, have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery, and the danger of detection? (5.) The letters are indiſcreet; but ſuch was, apparently, Mary's conduct at that time: They are inelegant; but they have a careleſs, natural air, like letters haſtily written between familiar friends. (6.) They contain ſuch a variety of particular circumſtances, as nobody could have thought of inventing, eſpecially as they muſt neceſſarily have afforded her many means of detection. (7.) We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French: We have only a Scotch and Latin tranſlation from the original, and a French tranſlation profeſſedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable, that the Scotch tranſlation is full of Galliciſms, and is clearly a tranſlation from a French original: Such as *make fault, faire des fautes*; *make it ſeem that I believe, faire ſemblant de le croire*; *make brek, faire breche*; *this is my firſt journay, c'eſt ma premiere journée*; *have you not deſire to laugh, n'avez vous pas envie de rire*; *the place will hald unto the death, la place tiendra juſqu'à la mort*; *he may not come forth of the houſe this long time, il ne peut pas ſortir du logis de long tems*; *to make me advertiſement, faire m'avertir*; *put order to it, mettre ordre cela*; *diſcharge your heart, decharger votre cœur*; *make gud watch, faites bonne garde*, &c (8.) There is a converſation which ſhe mentions between herſelf and the king one evening: But Murray produced before the Engliſh commiſſioners, the teſtimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the earl of Lenox, who ſwore that the king, on her departure from him, gave him an

an account of the ſame converſation. (9.) There ſeems very little reaſon why Murray and his aſſociates ſhould run the riſk of ſuch a dangerous forgery, which muſt have rendered them infamous, if detected; ſince their cauſe, from Mary's known conduct, even without theſe letters, was ſufficiently good and juſtifiable. (10.) Murray expoſed theſe letters to the examination of perſons qualified to judge of them; the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, queen Elizabeth and her council, who were poſſeſſed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters. (11.) He gave Mary herſelf an opportunity of refuting and expoſing him, if ſhe had choſen to lay hold of it. (12.) The letters tally ſo well with all the other parts of her conduct during that tranſaction, that theſe proofs throw the ſtrongeſt light on each other. (13.) The duke of Norfolk, who had examined theſe papers, and who favoured ſo much the queen of Scots, that he intended to marry her, and in the end loſt his life in her cauſe, yet believed them authentic, and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears not only from his letters above mentioned, to queen Elizabeth and her miniſters, but by his ſecret acknowledgment to Baniſter, his moſt truſty confident. See State Trials, vol. i. p. 81. In the conferences between the duke, ſecretary Lidington, and the biſhop of Roſs, all of them zealous partizans of that princeſs, the ſame thing is always taken for ganted. Ibid. p. 74, 75. See farther MS. in the Advocate's library, A. 3. 28. p. 314. from Cott. lib. Calig. c. 9. Indeed, the duke's full perſuaſion of Mary's guilt, without the leaſt doubt or heſitation, could not have had place, if he had found Lidington or the biſhop of Roſs of a different opinion, or if they had ever told him that theſe letters were forged. It is to be remarked, that Lidington, being one of the accomplices, knew the whole bottom of the conſpiracy againſt king Henry, and was, beſides, a man of ſuch penetration, that nothing could eſcape him in ſuch intereſting events. (14.) I need not repeat the preſumption drawn from Mary's refuſal to anſwer. The only excuſe for her ſilence is, that ſhe ſuſpected Elizabeth to be a partial judge: It was not, indeed, the intereſt of that princeſs to acquit and juſtify her rival and competitor; and we accordingly find that Lidington, from the ſecret information

of the duke of Norfolk, informed Mary, by the biſhop of Roſs, that the queen of England never meant to come to a deciſion; but only to get into her hands the proofs of Mary's guilt, in order to blaſt her character: See State Trials, vol. i. p. 77. But this was a better reaſon for declining the conference at all together, than for breaking it off on frivolous pretences, the very moment the chief accuſation was unexpectedly opened againſt her. Though ſhe could not expect Elizabeth's final deciſion in her favour, it was of importance to give a ſatisfactory anſwer, if ſhe had any, to the accuſation of the Scotch commiſſioners. That anſwer could have been diſperſed for the ſatisfaction of the public, of foreign nations, and of poſterity. And ſurely, after the accuſation and proofs were in queen Elizabeth's hands, it could do no harm to give in the anſwers. Mary's information, that the queen never intended to come to a deciſion, could be no obſtacle to her juſtification. (15.) The very diſappearance of theſe letters, is a preſumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for no way but from the care of king James's friends, who were deſirous to deſtroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The diſappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton library, Calig. c. i. muſt have proceeded from a like cauſe. See MS. in the Advocates' library, A. 3. 29. p. 88.

I FIND an objection made to the authenticity of the letters, drawn from the vote of the Scotch privy-council, which affirms the letters to be written and ſubſcribed by queen Mary's own hand; whereas the copies given in to the parliament, a few days after, were only written, not ſubſcribed. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 64. 67. But it is not conſidered, that this circumſtance is of no manner of force: There were certainly letters, true or falſe, laid before the council; and whether the letters were true or falſe, this miſtake proceeds equally from the inaccuracy or blunder of the clerk. The miſtake may be accounted for: The letters were only written by her: The ſecond contract with Bothwel was only ſubſcribed. A proper accurate diſtinction was not made; and they are all ſaid to be written and ſubſcribed. A late writer, Mr. Goodall, has endeavoured to prove that theſe letters claſh with chronology,

and that the queen was not in the places mentioned in the letters, on the days there aſſigned: To confirm this, he produces charters and other deeds ſigned by the queen, where the date and place do not agree with the letters. But it is well known, that the date of charters, and ſuch like grants, is no proof of the real day on which they were ſigned by the ſovereign. Papers of that kind commonly paſs through different offices: The date is affixed by the firſt office; and may precede very long the day of the ſignature.

The account given by Morton of the manner in which the papers came into his hands, is very natural. When he gave it to the Engliſh commiſſioners, he had reaſon to think it would be canvaſſed with all the ſeverity of able adverſaries, intereſted in the higheſt degree to refute it. It is probable, that he could have confirmed it by many circumſtances and teſtimonies; ſince they declined the conteſt.

The ſonnets are inelegant; inſomuch that both Brantome and Ronſard, who knew queen Mary's ſtyle, were aſſured, when they ſaw them, that they could not be of her compoſition. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 478. But no perſon is equal in his productions, eſpecially one whoſe ſtyle is ſo little formed as Mary's muſt be ſuppoſed to be. Not to mention that ſuch dangerous and criminal enterprizes leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant, poetical compoſitions.

In a word, queen Mary might eaſily have conducted the whole conſpiracy againſt her huſband, without opening her mind to any one perſon except Bothwel, and without writing a ſcrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it ſo that her conduct ſhould not betrary her to men of diſcernment. In the preſent caſe, her conduct was ſo groſs as to betray her to every body; and fortune threw into her enemies hands papers, by which they could convict her. The ſame infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the uſual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to obſerve, that there is not one circumſtance of the foregoing narrative, contained in the hiſtory, that is taken from Knox, Buchanan or even Thuanus, or indeed, from any ſuſpected authority.

no better proof againſt Murray, otherwiſe they would have produced it, and not have inſiſted on ſo abſurd a preſumption. Was not this alſo the time for Huntley to deny his writing Mary's contract with Bothwel, if that paper had been a forgery?

MURRAY could have no motive to commit that crime. The king, indeed, bore him ſome ill-will; but the king himſelf was become ſo deſpicable, both from his own ill conduct and the queen's averſion to him, that he could neither do good nor harm to any body. To judge by the event, in any caſe, is always abſurd; eſpecially in the preſent. The king's murder, indeed, procured Murray the regency: But much more Mary's ill conduct and imprudence, which he could not poſſibly foreſee, and which never would have happened, had ſhe been entirely innocent.

NOTE [N], p. 145.

I BELIEVE there is no reader of common ſenſe who does not ſee, from the narrative in the text, that the author means to ſay, that queen Mary refuſes conſtantly to anſwer before the Engliſh commiſſioners, but offers only to anſwer in perſon before queen Elizabeth in perſon, contrary to her practice during the whole courſe of the conference, till the moment the evidence of her being an accomplice in her huſband's murder is unexpectedly produced. It is true, the author having repeated four or five times an account of this demand of being admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, and having expreſſed his opinion, that, as it had been refuſed from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences, ſhe did not expect it would now be complied with; thought it impoſſible his meaning could be miſunderſtood (as indeed it was impoſſible), and not being willing to tire his reader with continual repetitions, he mentions in a paſſage or two, ſimply, that ſhe had refuſed to make any anſwer. I believe alſo, there is no reader of common ſenſe who peruſes Anderſon or Goodall's collections, and does not ſee, that, agreeably to this narrative, queen Mary inſiſts unalterably and ſtrenuouſly on not continuing to anſwer before the Engliſh commiſſioners, but inſiſts to be heard in perſon, by queen Elizabeth in perſon;

though once or twice, by way of bravado, ſhe ſays ſimply, that ſhe will anſwer and refute her enemies, without inſerting this condition, which ſtill is underſtood. But there is a perſon that has writ an *Enquiry hiſtorical and critical into the Evidence againſt Mary Queen of Scots*; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a ſingle paſſage of the narrative, in which Mary is ſaid ſimply to refuſe anſwering; and then a ſingle paſſage from Goodall, in which ſhe boaſts ſimply that ſhe will anſwer; and he very civilly and almoſt directly calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Enquiry, from beginning to end, is compoſed of ſuch ſcandalous artifices; and, from this inſtance, the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the Enquirer. There are, indeed, three events in our hiſtory, which may be regarded as touchſtones of partymen. An Engliſh Whig, who aſſerts the reality of the popiſh plot, an Iriſh Catholic, who denies the maſſacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, muſt be conſidered as men beyond the reach of argument or reaſon, and muſt be left to their prejudices.

NOTE [O], p. 167.

BY Murden's ſtate papers, publiſhed after the writing of this hiſtory, it appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the regent for the delivering up of Mary to him. The queen afterwards ſent down Killigrew to the earl of Marre when regent, offering to put Mary into his hands. Killigrew was inſtructed to take good ſecurity from the regent, that that queen ſhould be tried for her crimes, and that the ſentence ſhould be executed upon her. It appears that Marre rejected the offer; becauſe we hear no more of it.

NOTE [P], p. 169.

SIR James Melvil, p. 108, 109, aſcribes to Elizabeth a poſitive deſign of animating the Scotch factions againſt each other; but his evidence is too inconſiderable to counterbalance many other authorities, and is, indeed, contrary to her

her ſubſequent conduct, as well as her intereſt, and the neceſſity of her ſituation. It was plainly her intereſt that the king's party ſhould prevail, and nothing could have engaged her to ſtop their progreſs, or even forbear openly aſſiſting them, but her intention of ſtill amuſing the queen of Scots, by the hopes of being peaceably reſtored to her throne. See farther, Strype, vol. ii. Append. p. 20.

NOTE [Q], p. 243.

THAT the queen's negociations for marrying the duke of Anjou were not feigned nor political, appears clearly from many circumſtances; particularly from a paſſage in Dr. Forbes's manuſcript collections, at preſent in the poſſeſſion of lord Royſton. She there enjoins Walſingham, before he opens the treaty, to examine the perſon of the duke; and as that prince had lately recovered from the ſmall-pox, ſhe deſires her ambaſſador to conſider, whether he yet retained ſo much of his good looks, as that a woman could fix her affections on him. Had ſhe not been in earneſt, and had ſhe only meant to amuſe the public, or the court of France, this circumſtance was of no moment.

NOTE [R], p. 265.

D'EWES, p. 328. The puritanical ſect had indeed gone ſo far, that a book of diſcipline was ſecretly ſubſcribed by above five hundred clergymen; and the preſbyterian government thereby eſtabliſhed in the midſt of the church, notwithſtanding the rigour of the prelates and of the high commiſſion. So impoſſible is it by penal ſtatutes, however ſevere, to ſuppreſs all religious innovation. See Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 483. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 291.

NOTE [S], p. 267.

THIS year, the earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, had been engaged in a conſpiracy with lord Paget for the deliverance of the queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower; and being conſcious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at leaſt, that ſentence

tence would infallibly be pronounced againſt him, he freed himſelf from farther proſecution by a voluntary death. He ſhot himſelf in the breaſt with a piſtol. About the ſame time, the earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, having entered into ſome exceptionable meaſures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart ſecretly beyond ſea, but was diſcovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587 this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treaſon; chiefly becauſe he had dropped ſome expreſſions of affection to the Spaniards, and had affirmed that he would have maſſes ſaid for the ſucceſs of the Armada. His peers found him guilty of treaſon: This ſevere ſentence was not executed; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a priſoner in 1595. He carried his religious auſterities ſo far, that they were believed the immediate cauſe of his death.

NOTE [T], p. 282.

MARY's extreme animoſity againſt Elizabeth may eaſily be conceived, and it broke out, about this time, in an incident, which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in cuſtody by the earl of Shrewſbury, ſhe lived during a long time in great intimacy with the counteſs; but that lady entertaining a jealouſy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendſhip was converted into enmity; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her ſpite againſt the counteſs and that againſt Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious ſcandalous ſtories which, ſhe ſaid, the counteſs of Shrewſbury had reported of her: That Elizabeth had given a promiſe of marriage to a certain perſon, whom ſhe afterwards often admitted to her bed: That ſhe had been equally indulgent to Simier, the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou: That Hatton was alſo one of her paramours, who was even diſguſted with her exceſſive love and fondneſs: That though ſhe was, on other occaſions, avaricious to the laſt degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, ſhe ſpared no expence in gratifying her amorous paſſions: That notwithſtanding her licentious amours, ſhe was not made like other women; and all thoſe who court-

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ed her marriage would in the end be diſappointed: That ſhe was ſo conceited of her beauty, as to ſwallow the moſt extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on theſe occaſions, forbear even ſneering at her for her folly: That it was uſual for them to tell her, that the luſtre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the ſun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye: She added, that the counteſs had ſaid, that Mary's beſt policy would be to engage her ſon to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that ſuch a propoſal would be taken for mockery; So ridiculous was the opinion which ſhe had entertained of her own charms. She pretended that the counteſs had repreſented her as no leſs odious in her temper than profligate in her manners, and abſurd in her vanity: That ſhe had ſo beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended, that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candleſtick: That ſhe had cut another acroſs the hand with a knife, who had been ſo unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the counteſs had informed her, that Elizabeth had ſuborned Rolſtone to pretend friendſhip to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. See Murden's State Papers, p. 558. This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conſpiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings againſt her the more rigorous. How far all theſe imputations againſt Elizabeth can be credited, may perhaps appear doubtful: But her extreme fondneſs for Leiceſter, Hatton, and Eſſex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious paſſages between her and admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chaſtity very much to be ſuſpected. Her ſelf-conceit with regard to beauty, we know from other undoubted authority, to have been extravagant. Even when ſhe was a very old woman, ſhe allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her *excellent beauties*. Birch, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. Her paſſionate temper may alſo be proved from many lively inſtances; and it was not unuſual with her to beat her maids of honour. See the Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 38. The blow ſhe gave to Eſſex before the privy-council is another

ther inſtance. There remains in the Muſæum a letter of the earl of Huntingdon's, in which he complains grievouſly of the queen's pinching his wife very ſorely, on account of ſome quarrel between them. Had this princeſs been born in a private ſtation, ſhe would not have been very amiable: But her abſolute authority, at the ſame time that it gave an uncontrouling ſwing to her violent paſſions, enabled her to compenſate her infirmities by many great and ſignal virtues.

NOTE [U], p. 295.

CAMDEN, p. 525. This evidence was that of Curle, her ſecretary, whom ſhe allowed to be a very honeſt man; and who, as well as Nau, had given proofs of his integrity, by keeping ſo long ſuch important ſecrets, from whoſe diſcovery he could have reaped the greateſt profit. Mary, after all, thought, that ſhe had ſo little reaſon to complain of Curle's evidence, that ſhe took care to have him paid a conſiderable ſum by her will, which ſhe wrote the day before her death. Goodall, vol. i. p. 413. Neither did ſhe forget Nau, though leſs ſatisfied in other reſpects with his conduct. Id. ibid.

NOTE [X], p. 295.

THE detail of this conſpiracy is to be found in a letter of the queen of Scots to Charles Paget, her great confident. This letter is dated the 20th of May 1586, and is contained in Dr. Forbes's manuſcript collections, at preſent in the poſſeſſion of Lord Royſton. It is a copy atteſted by Curle, Mary's ſecretary, and indorſed by lord Burleigh. What proves its authenticity beyond queſtion is, that we find in Murden's Collection, p. 516, that Mary actually wrote that very day a letter to Charles Paget: And farther, ſhe mentions, in the manuſcript letter, a letter of Charles Paget's of the 10th of April: Now we find by Murden, p. 506, that Charles Paget did actually write her a letter of that date.

THIS violence of ſpirit is very conſiſtent with Mary's character. Her maternal affection was too weak to oppoſe the gratification of her paſſions, particularly her pride, her ambition, and her bigotry. Her ſon, having made ſome fruitleſs

leſs attempts to aſſociate her with him in the title, and having found the ſcheme impracticable, on account of the prejudices of his proteſtant ſubjects, at laſt deſiſted from that deſign, and entered into an alliance with England, without comprehending his mother. She was in ſuch a rage at this undutiful behaviour, as ſhe imagined it, that ſhe wrote to queen Elizabeth, that ſhe no longer cared what became of him or herſelf in the world; the greateſt ſatisfaction ſhe could have before her death, was to ſee him and all his adherents become a ſignal example of tyranny, ingratitude, and impiety, and undergo the vengeance of God for their wickedneſs. She would find in Chriſtendom others heirs, and doubted not to put her inheritance in ſuch hands as would retain the firmeſt hold of it. She cared not, after taking this revenge, what became of her body: The quickeſt death would then be the moſt agreeable to her. And ſhe aſſured her, that, if he perſevered, ſhe would diſown him for her ſon, would give him her malediction, would diſinherit him, as well of his preſent poſſeſſions as of all he could expect by her; abandoning him not only to her ſubjects to treat him as they had done her, but to all ſtrangers to ſubdue and conquer him. It was in vain to employ menaces againſt her: The fear of death or other misfortune would never induce her to make one ſtep, or pronounce one ſyllable beyond what ſhe had determined: She would rather periſh with honour, in maintaining the dignity to which God had raiſed her, than degrade herſelf by the leaſt puſillanimity, or act what was unworthy of her ſtation and of her race. Murden, p. 566, 567.

James ſaid to Courcelles, the French ambaſſador, that he had ſeen a letter under her own hand, in which ſhe threatened to diſinherit him, and ſaid that he might betake him to the lordſhip of Darnley: For that was all he had by his father. *Courcelles' Letter, a MS. of Dr. Campbell's.* There is in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 573, a letter of her's where ſhe throws out the ſame menace againſt him.

We find this ſcheme of ſeizing the king of Scots, and delivering him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, propoſed by Morgan to Mary. See Murden, p. 525. A mother muſt be very violent to whom one would dare to make ſuch

ſuch a propoſal: But it ſeems ſhe aſſented to it. Was not ſuch a woman very capable of murdering her huſband, who had ſo grievouſly offended her?

NOTE [Y], p. 297.

THE volume of State Papers collected by Murden, prove beyond controverſy, that Mary was long in cloſe correſpondence with Babington, p. 513. 516. 532, 533. She entertained a like correſpondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and laid a ſcheme with them for an inſurrection, and for the invaſion of England by Spain, p. 528. 531. The ſame papers ſhow, that there had been a diſcontinuance of Babington's correſpondence, agreeably to Camden's narration. See State Papers, p. 513. where Morgan recommends it to queen Mary to renew her correſpondence with Babington. Theſe circumſtances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correſpondence with Babington contained particulars which could not be avowed.

NOTE [Z], p. 297.

THERE are three ſuppoſitions, by which the letter to Babington may be accounted for, without allowing Mary's concurrence in the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. The firſt is, that which ſhe ſeems herſelf to have embraced, that her ſecretaries had received Babington's letter, and had, without any treacherous intention, ventured of themſelves to anſwer it, and had never communicated the matter to her: But it is utterly improbable, if not impoſſible, that a princeſs of ſo much ſenſe and ſpirit ſhould, in an affair of that importance, be ſo treated by her ſervants who lived in the houſe with her, and who had every moment an opportunity of communicating the ſecret to her. If the conſpiracy failed, they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſevereſt puniſhment from the court of England; if it ſucceeded, the lighteſt puniſhment which they could hope for from their own miſtreſs, muſt be diſgrace, on account of their temerity. Not to mention, that Mary's concurrence was, in ſome degree, requiſite for effecting the deſign of her eſcape: It was propoſed to attack her guards while ſhe was employed in hunting: She muſt therefore

fore concert the time and place with the conſpirators. The ſecond ſuppoſition is, that theſe two ſecretaries were previouſly traitors; and being gained by Walſingham, had made ſuch a reply in their miſtreſs's cypher, as might involve her in the guilt of the conſpiracy. But theſe two men had lived long with the queen of Scots, had been entirely truſted by her, and had never fallen under ſuſpicion either with her or her partizans. Camden informs us, that Curle afterwards claimed a reward from Walſingham on pretence of ſome promiſe; but Walſingham told him, that he owed him no reward, and that he had made no diſcoveries on his examination, which were not known with certainty from other quarters. The third ſuppoſition is, that neither the queen nor the two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, ever ſaw Babington's letter, or made any anſwer; but that Walſingham, having deciphered the former, forged a reply. But this ſuppoſition implies the falſehood of the whole ſtory, told by Camden, of Gifford's acceſs to the queen of Scots' family, and Paulet's refuſal to concur in allowing his ſervants to be bribed. Not to mention, that as Nau's and Curle's evidence muſt, on this ſuppoſition, have been extorted by violence and terror, they would neceſſarily have been engaged, for their own juſtification, to have told the truth afterwards; eſpecially upon the acceſſion of James. But Camden informs us, that Nau, even after that event, perſiſted ſtill in his teſtimony.

We muſt alſo conſider, that the two laſt ſuppoſitions imply ſuch a monſtrous criminal conduct in Walſingham, and conſequently in Elizabeth (for the matter could be no ſecret to her), as exceeds all credibility. If we conſider the ſituation of things, and the prejudices of the times, Mary's conſent to Babington's conſpiracy appears much more natural and probable. She believed Elizabeth to be an uſurper and a heretic: She regarded her as a perſonal and a violent enemy: She knew that ſchemes for aſſaſſinating heretics were very familiar in that age, and generally approved of by the court of Rome and the zealous catholics: Her own liberty and ſovereignty were connected with the ſucceſs of this enterprize: And it cannot appear ſtrange, that where men, of ſo much merit as Babington,

could be engaged, by bigotry alone, in ſo criminal an enterprize, Mary, who was actuated by the ſame motive, joined to ſo many others, ſhould have given her conſent to a ſcheme projected by her friends. We may be previouſly certain, that, if ſuch a ſcheme was ever communicated to her, with any probability of ſucceſs, ſhe would aſſent to it: And it ſerved the purpoſe of Walſingham and the Engliſh miniſtry to facilitate the communication of theſe ſchemes, as ſoon as they had gotten an expedient for intercepting her anſwer, and detecting the conſpiracy. Now Walſingham's knowledge of the matter is a ſuppoſition neceſſary to account for the letter delivered to Babington.

As to the not puniſhing of Nau and Curle by Elizabeth, it never is the practice to puniſh leſſer criminals, who had given evidence againſt the principal.

But what ought to induce us to reject theſe three ſuppoſitions, is, that they muſt, all of them, be conſidered as bare poſſibilities: The partizans of Mary can give no reaſon for preferring one to the other: Not the ſlighteſt evidence ever appeared to ſupport any one of them: Neither at that time, nor at any time afterwards, was any reaſon diſcovered, by the numerous zealots at home and abroad, who had embraced Mary's defence, to lead us to the belief of any of theſe three ſuppoſitions; and even her apologiſts at preſent ſeem not to have fixed on any choice among theſe ſuppoſed poſſibilities. The poſitive proof of two very credible witneſſes, ſupported by the other very ſtrong circumſtances, ſtill remains unimpeached. Babington, who had an extreme intereſt to have communication with the queen of Scots, believed he had found a means of correſpondence with her, and had received an anſwer from her: He, as well as the other conſpirators, died in that belief: There has not occurred, ſince that time, the leaſt argument to prove that they were miſtaken: Can there be any reaſon at preſent to doubt the truth of their opinion? Camden, though a profeſt apologiſt for Mary, is conſtrained to tell the ſtory in ſuch a manner as evidently ſuppoſes her guilt. Such was the impoſſibility of finding any other conſiſtent account, even by a man of parts, who was a contemporary!

In

In this light might the queſtion have appeared even during Mary's trial. But what now puts her guilt beyond all controverſy is the following paſſage of her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th of July 1586. "As to Babington, he hath "both kindly and honeſtly offered himſelf and all his means "to be employed any way I would: Whereupon I hope to "have ſatisfied him by two of my ſeveral letters, ſince I had "his; and the rather, for that I opened him the way, where-"by I received his with your aforeſaid." Murden, p. 533. Babington confeſſed, that he had offered her to aſſaſſinate the queen: It appears by this, that ſhe had accepted the offer: So that all the ſuppoſitions of Walſingham's forgery, or the temerity or treachery of her ſecretaries, fall to the ground.

NOTE [AA], p. 302.

THIS parliament granted the queen a ſupply of a ſubſidy and two fifteenths. They adjourned, and met again after the execution of the queen of Scots; when there paſſed ſome remarkable incidents, which it may be proper not to omit. We ſhall give them in the words of Sir Simon D'Ewes, p. 410, 411. which are almoſt wholly tranſcribed from Townſhend's Journal. On Monday the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, firſt uſing ſome ſpeeches touching the neceſſity of a learned miniſtry, and the amendment of things amiſs in the eccleſiaſtical eſtate, offered to the houſe a bill and a book written; the bill containing a petition, that it might be enacted, that all laws now in force touching eccleſiaſtical government ſhould be void: And that it might be enacted, that that book of common prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the church to be uſed. The book contained the form of prayer and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies to be uſed in the church; and he deſired that the book might be read. Whereupon Mr. Speaker in effect uſed this ſpeech: For that her majeſty before this time had commanded the houſe not to meddle with this matter, and that her majeſty had promiſed to take order in thoſe cauſes, he doubted not but to the good ſatisfaction of all her people he deſired that it would pleaſe them to ſpare the reading of it. Notwithſtanding the houſe deſired the reading of

it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker deſired the clerk to read. And the court being ready to read it, Mr. Dalton made a motion againſt the reading of it; ſaying, that it was not meet to be read, and it did appoint a new form of adminiſtration of the ſacraments and ceremonies of the church, to the diſcredit of the book of common prayer, and of the whole ſtate; and thought that this dealing would bring her majeſty's indignation againſt the houſe, thus to enterprize this dealing with thoſe things which her majeſty eſpecially had taken into her own charge and direction. Whereupon Mr. Lewkenor ſpake, ſhewing the neceſſity of preaching and of a learned miniſtry, and thought it very fit that the petition and book ſhould be read. To this purpoſe ſpake Mr. Hurleſton and Mr. Bainbrigg; and ſo, the time being paſſed, the houſe broke up, and neither the petition nor book read. This done, her majeſty ſent to Mr. Speaker, as well for this petition and book, as for that other petition and book for the like effect, that was delivered the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, which Mr. Speaker ſent to her majeſty. On Tueſday the 28th of February, her majeſty ſent for Mr. Speaker, by occaſion whereof the houſe did not ſit. On Wedneſday the firſt day of March, Mr. Wentworth delivered to Mr. Speaker certain articles, which contained queſtions touching the liberties of the houſe, and to ſome of which he was to anſwer, and deſired they might be read. Mr. Speaker deſired him to ſpare his motion, until her majeſty's pleaſure was further known touching the petition and book lately delivered into the houſe; but Mr. Wentworth would not be ſo ſatisfied, but required his articles might be read. Mr. Wentworth introduced his queries by lamenting, that he as well as many others were deterred from ſpeaking, by their want of knowledge and experience in the liberties of the houſe; and the queries were as follow: Whether this council were not a place for any member of the ſame here aſſembled, freely and without controulment of any perſon or danger of laws, by bill or ſpeech to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth whatſoever, touching the ſervice of God, the ſafety of the prince and this noble realm? Whether that great honour may be done unto God, and benefit and ſervice unto the prince and ſtate, without free ſpeech

in this council that may be done with it? Whether there be any council which can make, add, or diminiſh from the laws of the realm, but only this council of parliament? Whether it be not againſt the orders of this council to make any ſecret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known to the prince or any other, concerning the high ſervice of God, prince or ſtate, without the conſent of the houſe? Whether the ſpeaker or any other may interrupt any member of this council in his ſpeech uſed in this houſe tending to any of the forenamed ſervices? Whether the ſpeaker may riſe when he will, any matter being propounded, without conſent of the houſe or not? Whether the ſpeaker may over-rule the houſe in any matter or cauſe there in queſtion, or whether he is to be ruled or over-ruled in any matter or not? Whether the prince and ſtate can continue, and ſtand, and be maintained, without this council of parliament, not altering the government of the ſtate? At the end of theſe queſtions, ſays Sir Simon D'Ewes, I found ſet down this ſhort note or memorial enſuing: By which it may be perceived, both what ſerjeant Puckering, the ſpeaker, did with the ſaid queſtions after he had received them, and what became alſo of this buſineſs, viz. "Theſe queſtions Mr. Puckering pocketed up and ſhewed "Sir Thomas Henage, who ſo handled the matter, that Mr. "Wentworth went to the Tower, and the queſtions not at all "moved. Mr. Buckler of Eſſex herein brake his faith "in forſaking the matter, &c. and no more was done." After ſetting down, continues Sir Simon D'Ewes, the ſaid buſineſs of Mr. Wentworth in the original journal book, there follows only this ſhort concluſion of the day itſelf, viz. "This day, Mr. Speaker being ſent for to the queen's ma-"jeſty, the houſe departed." On Thurſday the ſecond of March, Mr. Cope, Mr. Lewkenor, Mr. Hurlſton, and Mr. Bainbrigg were ſent for to my lord chancellor, and by divers of the privy council, and from thence were ſent to the Tower. On Saturday, the fourth day of March, Sir John Higham made a motion to this houſe, for that divers good and neceſſary members thereof were taken from them, that it would pleaſe them to be humble petitioners to her majeſty for the

reſtitution of them again to the houſe. To which ſpeeches Mr. Vice-chamberlain anſwered, that if the gentlemen were committed for matter within the compaſs of the privilege of this houſe, then there might be a petition; but if not, then we ſhould give occaſion to her majeſty's farther diſpleaſure: And therefore adviſed to ſtay until they heard more, which could not be long: And farther, he ſaid touching the book and the petition, her majeſty had, for divers good cauſes beſt known to herſelf, thought fit to ſuppreſs the ſame, without any farther examination thereof; and yet thought it very unfit for her majeſty to give any account of her doings.—— But whatſoever Mr. Vice-chamberlain pretended, it is moſt probable theſe members were committed for intermeddling with matters touching the church, which her majeſty had often inhibited, and which had cauſed ſo much diſputation and ſo many meetings between the two houſes the laſt parliament.

THIS is all we find of the matter in Sir Simon D'Ewes and Townſend; and it appears that thoſe members, who had been committed, were detained in cuſtody till the queen thought proper to releaſe them. Theſe queſtions of Mr. Wentworth are curious; becauſe they contain ſome faint dawn of the preſent Engliſh conſtitution; though ſuddenly eclipſed by the arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Wentworth was indeed, by his puritaniſm, as well as his love of liberty (for theſe two characters of ſuch unequal merit, aroſe and advanced together) the true forerunner of the Hambdens, the Pyms, and the Holliſes, who, in the next age, with leſs courage, becauſe with leſs danger, rendered their principles ſo triumphant. I ſhall only aſk, whether it be not ſufficiently clear from all theſe tranſactions, that in the two ſucceeding reigns it was the people who encroached upon the ſovereign; not the ſovereign who attempted, as is pretended, to uſurp upon the people?

NOTE [BB], p. 338.

THE queen's ſpeech in the camp of Tilbury was in theſe words: My loving people, we have been perſuaded by ſome, that are careful of our ſafety, to take heed how we commit ourſelves

ourſelves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but aſſure you, I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always ſo behaved myſelf, that, under God, I have placed my chiefeſt ſtrength and ſafeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my ſubjects. And therefore I am come amongſt you at this time, not as for my recreation or ſport, but being reſolved, in the midſt and heat of the battle, to live or die amongſt you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the duſt. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul ſcorn, that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, ſhould dare to invade the borders of my realms: To which, rather than any diſhonour ſhall grow by me, I myſelf will take up arms; I myſelf will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardneſs, that you have deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a prince, they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant-general ſhall be in my ſtead; than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy ſubject; not doubting, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

NOTE [CC], p. 345.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 525. On the fourth of September, ſoon after the diſperſion of the Spaniſh Armada, died the earl of Leiceſter, the queen's great, but unworthy favourite. Her affection for him continued to the laſt. He had diſcovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes; and was ſuſpected of cowardice: yet ſhe entruſted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spaniſh invaſion; a partiality which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England. She had even ordered a commiſſion to be drawn for him, conſtituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton repreſented to her the danger of entruſting

ſuch unlimited authority in the hands of any ſubject, and prevented the execution of that deſign. No wonder that a conduct, ſo unlike the uſual jealouſy of Elizabeth, gave reaſon to ſuſpect that her partiality was founded on ſome other paſſion than friendſhip. But Elizabeth ſeemed to carry her affection to Leiceſter no farther than the grave: She ordered his goods to be diſpoſed of at a public ſale, in order to reimburſe herſelf of ſome debt which he owed her; and her uſual attention to money was obſerved to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceaſed. This earl was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the ſtricteſt religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hoſpitals.

NOTE [DD], p. 345.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 542. Id. Append. p. 239. There are ſome ſingular paſſages in this laſt ſpeech, which may be worth taking notice of; eſpecially as they came from a member who was no courtier: For he argues againſt the ſubſidy. "And firſt," ſays he, "for the *neceſſity* thereof, I "cannot deny, but if it were a charge impoſed upon us by "her majeſty's commandment, or a demand proceeding from "her majeſty by way of requeſt, that I think there is not one "among us all, either ſo diſobedient a ſubject in regard of "our duty, or ſo unthankful a man in reſpect of the ineſtimable benefits which, by her or from her, we have received, "which would not with frank conſent, both of voice and "heart, moſt willingly ſubmit himſelf thereunto, without "any unreverend enquiry into the cauſes thereof. For it is "continually in the mouth of us all, that our lands, goods, "and lives, are at our prince's diſpoſing. And it agreeth "very well with that poſition of the civil law, which ſayeth, "*Quod omnia regis ſunt.* But how? *Ita tamen ut omnium ſint.* "*Ad regem enim poteſtas omnium pertinet; ad ſingulos proprietas.* "So that although it be moſt true, that her majeſty hath over "ourſelves and our goods, *poteſtatem imperandi*; yet it is "true, that until that power command (which, no doubt, "will not command without very juſt cauſe), every ſubject "hath his own *proprietatem poſſidendi.* Which power and "commandment

" commandment from her majeſty, which we have not yet " received, I take it (ſaving reformation) that we are freed " from the cauſe of *neceſſity*. And the cauſe of neceſſity is " the dangerous eſtate of the commonwealth, &c." The tenor of the ſpeech pleads rather for a general benevolence than a ſubſidy: For the law of Richard III. againſt benevolence, was never conceived to have any force. The member even proceeds to aſſert, with ſome precaution, that it was in the power of a parliament to refuſe the king's demand of a ſubſidy. And that there was an inſtance of that liberty in Henry III.'s time, near four hundred years before. *Sub fine.*

NOTE [EE], p. 348.

WE may judge of the extent and importance of theſe abuſes by a ſpeech of Bacon's againſt purveyors, delivered in the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of the ſubſequent reign, by which alſo we may learn, that Elizabeth had given no redreſs to the grievances complained of. " Firſt," ſays he, " they take in kind what they ought not to take; ſe- " condly, they take in quantity a far greater proportion than " cometh to your majeſty's uſe; thirdly, they take in an un- " lawful manner, in a manner, I ſay, directly and expreſsly " prohibited by the ſeveral laws. For the firſt, I am a little " to alter their name: For inſtead of takers, they become " taxers: Inſtead of taking proviſions for your majeſty's ſer- " vice, they tax your people *ad redimendam vexationem*; im- " poſing upon them and extorting from them divers ſums of " money, ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the nature of ſti- " pends annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be freed and eaſed of " their oppreſſion. Again, they take trees, which by law " they cannot do; timber trees, which are the beauty, coun- " tenance and ſhelter of men's houſes; that men have long " ſpared from their own purſe and profit; that men eſteem, " for their uſe and delight, above ten times the value; " that are a loſs which men cannot repair or recover. Theſe " do they take, to the defacing and ſpoiling of your ſubjects " manſions and dwellings, except they may be compounded " with to their own appetites. And if a gentleman be too

" hard for them while he is at home, they will watch their
" time when there is but a bailiff or a ſervant remaining, and
" put the axe to the root of the tree, ere ever the maſter can
" ſtop it. Again, they uſe a ſtrange and moſt unjuſt exaction
" in cauſing the ſubjects to pay poundage of their own debts,
" due from your majeſty unto them: So as a poor man, when
" he has had his hay or his wood, or his poultry (which per-
" chance he was full loath to part with, and had for the pro-
" vi on of his own family, and not to put to ſale) taken from
" him, and that not at a juſt price, but under the value,
" and cometh to rec ive his money, he ſhall have after the
" rate of twelve-pence in the pound abated for poundage of
" his due payment upon ſo hard conditions. Nay, farther,
" they are grown to that extremity (as is affirmed, though it
" be ſcarce credible, ſave that in ſuch perſons all things are
" credible), that they will take double poundage, once when
" the debenture is made, and again the ſecond time, when
" the money is paid. For the ſecond point, moſt gracious
" ſovereign, touching the quantity which they take far above
" that which is anſwered to your majeſty's uſe; it is affirmed
" unto me by divers gentlemen of good report, as a matter
" which I may ſafely avouch unto your majeſty, that there
" is no pound profit which redoundeth unto your majeſty in
" this courſe, but induceth and begetteth three pound da-
" mage upon your ſubjects, beſide the diſcontentment. And
" to the end they may make their ſpoil more ſecurely, what
" do they? Whereas divers ſtatutes do ſtrictly provide, that
" whatſoever they take ſhall be regiſtered and atteſted, to the
" end that by making a collation of that which is taken from
" the country and that which is anſwered above, their de-
" ceits might appear, they, to the end to obſcure their
" deceits, utterly omit the obſervation of this, which the law
" preſcribeth. And therefore to deſcend, if it may pleaſe
" your majeſty, to the third ſort of abuſe, which is of the
" unlawful manner of their taking, whereof this queſtion is
" a branch; it is ſo manifold, as it rather aſketh an enume-
" ration of ſome of the particulars than a proſecution of all.
" For their price, by law they ought to take as they can agree
" with the ſubject; by abuſe, they take at an impoſed and en-
" forced

" forced price: By law they ought to make but one apprize-
" ment by neighbours in the country; by abuſe, they make
" a ſecond apprizement at the court gate, and when the ſub-
" jects cattle come up many miles, lean and out of plight by
" reaſon of their travel, then they prize them anew at an
" abated price: By law, they ought to take between ſun and
" ſun; by abuſe, they take by twilight and in the night-
" time, a time well choſen for malefactors: By law, they
" ought not to take in the highways (a place by her ma-
" jeſty's high prerogative protected, and by ſtatute by ſpecial
" words excepted); by abuſe, they take in the highways: By
" law, they ought to ſhew their commiſſion, &c. A number
" of other particulars there are, &c." Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 305, 306.

SUCH were the abuſes, which Elizabeth would neither permit her parliaments to meddle with, nor redreſs herſelf. I believe it will readily be allowed, that this ſlight prerogative alone, which has paſſed almoſt unobſerved amidſt other branches of ſo much greater importance, was ſufficient to extinguiſh all regular liberty. For what elector, or member of parliament, or even juryman, durſt oppoſe the will of the court, while he lay under the laſh of ſuch an arbitrary prerogative? For a farther account of the grievous and incredible oppreſſions of purveyors, ſee the journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. i. p. 190. There is a ſtory of a carter, which may be worth mentioning on this occaſion. " A carter had three
" times been at Windſor with his cart to carry away, upon
" ſummons of a remove, ſome part of the ſtuff of her ma-
" jeſty's wardrobe; and when he had repaired thither once,
" twice, and the third time, and that they of the wardrobe
" had told him the third time that the remove held not, the
" carter, clapping his hand on his thigh, ſaid, *Now I ſee*
" *that the queen is a woman as well as my wife.* Which words
" being overheard by her majeſty, who then ſtood at the win-
" dow; ſhe ſaid, *What a villain is this?* and ſo ſent him
" three angels to ſtop his mouth." Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 155.

NOTE [FF], p. 358.

THIS year the nation ſuffered a great loſs, by the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and his integrity. He had paſſed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expence, yet died ſo poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, firſt married to Sir Philip Sydney, then to the earl of Eſſex, favourite of queen Elizabeth, and laſtly to the earl of Clanricarde of Ireland. The ſame year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in ſeveral embaſſies to Scotland; as did alſo the earl of Warwic, elder brother to Leiceſter.

NOTE [GG], p. 361.

THIS action of Sir Richard Greenville is ſo ſingular as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spaniſh fleet of fifty-three ſail, which had ten thouſand men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulſed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually ſhifted their veſſels, and boarded with freſh men. In the beginning of the action he himſelf received a wound; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a freſh wound, he was carried down to be dreſſed. During this operation he received a ſhot in the head, and the ſurgeon was killed by his ſide. The Engliſh began now to want powder; all their ſmall arms were broken or become uſeleſs; of this number, which were but a hundred and three at firſt, forty were killed, and almoſt all the reſt wounded; their maſts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this ſituation Sir Richard propoſed to the ſhip's company, to truſt to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to deſtroy the ſhip with themſelves, rather than yield to the enemy. The maſter gunner, and many of the ſeamen, agreed to this deſperate reſolution; but others oppoſed it, and obliged Greenville to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. He died a few days after; and his

his laſt words were: "Here die I, Richard Greenville, with "a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as "a true ſoldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, "religion, and honour: My ſoul willingly departing from "this body, leaving behind the laſting fame of having be-"haved as every valiant ſoldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards loſt in this ſharp, though unequal action, four ſhips, and about a thouſand men. And Greenville's veſſel periſhed ſoon after, with two hundred Spaniards in her. Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. part 2. p. 169. Camden, p. 565.

NOTE [HH], p. 385.

IT is uſual for the ſpeaker to diſqualify himſelf for the office; but the reaſons employed by this ſpeaker are ſo ſingular, that they may be worth tranſcribing. "My eſtate," ſaid he, "is nothing correſpondent for the maintenance of "this dignity: For my father dying, left me a younger bro-"ther; and nothing to me but my bare annuity. Then "growing to man's eſtate, and ſome ſmall practice of the law, "I took a wife, by whom I have had many children; the "keeping of us all being a great impoveriſhing to my eſtate, "and the daily living of us all nothing but my daily induſtry. "Neither from my perſon nor my nature doth this choice "ariſe: For he that ſupplieth this place ought to be a man "big and comely, ſtately and well-ſpoken, his voice great, "his carriage majeſtical, his nature haughty, and his purſe "plentiful and heavy: But contrarily, the ſtature of my body "is ſmall, myſelf not ſo well ſpoken, my voice low, my car-"riage lawyer-like, and of the common faſhion, my nature "ſoft and baſhful, my purſe thin, light, and never yet plen-"tiful.——If *Demoſthenes*, being ſo learned and eloquent as "he was, one whom none ſurpaſſed, trembled to ſpeak before "*Phocion* at *Athens*; how much more ſhall I, being unlearned "and unſkilful to ſupply the place of dignity, charge, and "trouble, to ſpeak before ſo many *Phocions* as here be? Yea, "which is the greateſt, before the unſpeakable majeſty and "ſacred perſonage of our dread and dear ſovereign: The "terror of whoſe countenance will appal and abaſe even the "ſtouteſt

" ſtouteſt hearts; yea, whoſe very name will pull down the " greateſt courage. For how mightily do the eſtate and name " of a prince deject the haughtieſt ſtomach even of their " greateſt ſubjects?" D'Ewes, p. 459.

NOTE [II], p. 392.

CABBALA, p. 234. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 386. Speed, p. 877. The whole letter of Eſſex is ſo curious and ſo ſpirited, that the reader may not be diſpleaſed to read it. " My very good lord; Though there is not that man " this day living, whom I would ſooner make judge of any " queſtion that might concern me than yourſelf, yet you muſt " give me leave to tell you, that in ſome caſes I muſt appeal " from all earthly judges: And if any, then ſurely in this, " when the higheſt judge on earth has impoſed on me the " heavieſt puniſhment, without trial or hearing. Since then I " muſt either anſwer your lordſhip's argument, or elſe forſake " mine own juſt defence, I will force mine aching head to do " me ſervice for an hour. I muſt firſt deny my diſcontent, " which was forced, to be an humorous diſcontent; and " that it was unſeaſonable, or is of ſo long continuing, your " lordſhip ſhould rather condole with me than expoſtulate: " Natural ſeaſons are expected here below; but violent and " unreaſonable ſtorms come from above: There is no tempeſt " equal to the paſſionate indignation of a prince; nor yet at " any time ſo unſeaſonable as when it lighteth on thoſe that " might expect a harveſt of their careful and painful labours. " He that is once wounded, muſt needs feel ſmart, till his " hurt is cured, or the part hurt become ſenſeleſs: But cure " I expect none, her majeſty's heart being obdurate againſt " me; and be without ſenſe I cannot, being of fleſh and " blood. But, ſay you, I may aim at the end: I do more " than aim; for I ſee an end of all my fortunes, I have ſet an " end to all my deſires. In this courſe do I any thing for my " enemies? When I was at court, I found them abſolute; " and, therefore, I had rather they ſhould triumph alone, " than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave " my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield them

" no

" no fruit of my love unto them; and now, that I am a her-
" mit, they ſhall bear no envy for their love towards me.
" Or do I forſake myſelf, becauſe I do enjoy myſelf? Or do
" I overthrow my fortunes, becauſe I build not a fortune of
" paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or
" do I ruinate mine honour, becauſe I leave following the
" purſuit, or wearing the falſe badge or mark of the ſhadow
" of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign
" foe, becauſe I reſerve myſelf to encounter with him? Or
" becauſe I keep my heart from buſineſs, though I cannot
" keep my fortune from declining? No, no, my good lord,
" I give every one of theſe conſiderations its due weight; and
" the more I weigh them, the more I find myſelf juſtified from
" offending in any of them. As for the two laſt objections,
" that I forſake my country, when it hath moſt need of me,
" and fail in that indiſſoluble duty which I owe to my ſove-
" reign; I anſwer, that if my country had at this time any
" need of my public ſervice, her majeſty, that governeth it,
" would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to
" my country by two bonds; one public, to diſcharge care-
" fully and induſtriouſly that truſt which is committed to me;
" the other private, to ſacrifice for it my life and carcaſe,
" which hath been nouriſhed in it. Of the firſt I am free,
" being diſmiſſed, diſcharged, and diſabled by her majeſty:
" Of the other, nothing can free me but death; and therefore
" no occaſion of my performance ſhall ſooner offer itſelf but I
" ſhall meet it half way. The indiſſoluble duty which I owe
" unto her majeſty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I
" never have, nor never can fail in: The duty of attendance
" is no indiſſoluble duty. I owe her majeſty the duty of an
" earl, and of lord marſhal of England. I have been content
" to do her majeſty the ſervice of a clerk; but I can never
" ſerve her as a villain or ſlave. But yet you ſay I muſt give
" way unto the time. So I do; for now that I ſee the ſtorm
" come, I have put myſelf into the harbour. *Seneca* ſaith,
" we muſt give way to Fortune: I know that Fortune is both
" blind and ſtrong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of
" her way. You ſay the remedy is not to ſtrive: I neither

" ſtrive

" ſtrive nor ſeek for remedy. But, you ſay, I muſt yield and " ſubmit; I can neither yield myſelf to be guilty, nor allow " the imputation laid upon me to be juſt: I owe ſo much to " the Author of all truth, as I can never yield truth to be " falſehood, nor falſehood to be truth. Have I given cauſe, " you aſk; and yet take a ſcandal when I have done? No: " I gave no cauſe, not ſo much as *Fimbria*'s complaint againſt " me; for I did *totum telum corpore recipere:* Receive the whole " ſword into my body. I patiently bear all, and ſenſibly feel " all that I then received, when this ſcandal was given me. " Nay more, when the vileſt of all indignities are done unto " me," &c. This noble letter, Bacon afterwards, in pleading againſt Eſſex, called bold and preſumptuous, and derogatory to her majeſty. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 388.

NOTE [KK], p. 420.

MOST of queen Elizabeth's courtiers feigned love and deſire towards her, and addreſſed themſelves to her in the ſtile of paſſion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into diſgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend Sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of having it ſhewn to the queen. " My heart was never broke till this day, " that I hear the queen goes away ſo far off, whom I have " followed ſo many years, with ſo great love and deſire, in " ſo many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark " priſon all alone. While ſhe was yet near at hand, that I " might hear of her once in two or three days, my ſorrows " were the leſs; but even now my heart is caſt into the depth " of all miſery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like " *Alexander*, hunting like *Diana*, walking like *Venus*, the " gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, " like a Nymph, ſometimes ſitting in the ſhade like a God- " deſs, ſometimes ſinging like an Angel, ſometimes playing " like *Orpheus*; behold the ſorrow of this world! once amiſs " hath bereaved me of all. O glory that only ſhineth in " misfortune! what is become of thy aſſurance? All wounds " have ſcars but that of fantaſie: All affections their relent- " ing but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friend-

" ſhip

" ſhip but adverſity, or when is grace witneſſed but in of-
" fences? There were no divinity but by reaſon of com-
" paſſion: For revenges are brutiſh and mortal. All thoſe
" times paſt, the loves, the ſighs, the ſorrows, the deſires,
" cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot
" one drop of gall be hid in ſo great heaps of ſweetneſs? I
" may then conclude, *Spes & fortuna, valete.* She is gone
" in whom I truſted; and of me hath not one thought of
" mercy, nor any reſpect of that which was. Do with me
" now therefore what you liſt. I am more weary of life than
" they are deſirous I ſhould periſh; which, if it had been for
" her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born." *Mur-
den*, 657. It is to be remarked, that this Nymph, Venus, Goddeſs, Angel, was then about ſixty. Yet five or ſix years after, ſhe allowed the ſame language to be held to her. Sir Henry Unton, her ambaſſador in France, relates to her a converſation which he had with Henry IV. The monarch, after having introduced Unton to his miſtreſs, the fair Gabrielle, aſked him how he liked her? " I anſwered ſparingly
" in her praiſe," ſaid the miniſter, " and told him, that if,
" without offence, I might ſpeak it, I had the picture of a far
" more excellent miſtreſs, and yet did her picture come far
" ſhort of her perfection of beauty. As you love me, ſaid he,
" ſhew it me, if you have it about you. I made ſome diffi-
" culties; yet, upon his importunity, offered it to his view
" very ſecretly, holding it ſtill in my hand: He beheld it
" with paſſion and admiration, ſaying, that I had reaſon, *Je
" me rends*, proteſting, that he had never ſeen the like; ſo,
" with great reverence, he kiſſed it twice or thrice, I detain-
" ing it ſtill in my hand. In the end, with ſome kind of
" contention, he took it from me, vowing, that I might take
" my leave of it: For he would not forego it for any treaſure:
" And that, to poſſeſs the favour of the lively picture, he
" would forſake all the world, and hold himſelf moſt happy;
" with many other moſt paſſionate ſpeeches." *Murden*, p. 718.
For farther particulars on this head, ſee the ingenious author of the Catalogue of royal and noble Authors, article *Eſſex*.

NOTE [LL], p. 441.

IT may not be amiſs to ſubjoin ſome paſſages of theſe ſpeeches; which may ſerve to give us a juſt idea of the government of that age, and of the political principles which prevailed during the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Laurence Hyde propoſed a bill, entituled, An act for the explanation of the common law in certain caſes of letters patent. Mr. Spicer ſaid, This bill may touch the prerogative royal, which, as I learned the laſt parliament, is ſo tranſcendent, that the ——— of the ſubject may not aſpire thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the ſtate and prerogative royal of the prince ſhould be tied by me, or by the act of any other ſubject. Mr. Francis Bacon ſaid, As to the prerogative royal of the prince, for my own part, I ever allowed of it; and it is ſuch as I hope will never be diſcuſſed. The queen, as ſhe is our ſovereign, hath both an enlarging and reſtraining power. For by her prerogative ſhe may ſet at liberty things reſtrained by ſtatute law or otherwiſe, and ſecondly, by her prerogative ſhe may reſtrain things which be at liberty. For the firſt, ſhe may grant a *non obſtante* contrary to the penal laws.———With regard to monopolies, and ſuch like caſes, the caſe hath ever been to humble ourſelves unto her majeſty, and by petition deſire to have our grievances remedied, eſpecially when the remedy toucheth her ſo nigh in point of prerogative.——I ſay, and I ſay it again, that we ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle with her majeſty's prerogative. I wiſh therefore every man to be careful of this buſineſs. Dr. Bennet ſaid, He that goeth about to debate her majeſty's prerogative had need to walk warily. Mr. Lawrence Hyde ſaid, For the bill itſelf, I made it, and I think I underſtand it: And far be it from this heart of mine to think, this tongue to ſpeak, or this hand to write any thing either in prejudice or derogation of her majeſty's prerogative-royal and the ſtate. —— Mr. Speaker, quoth Serjeant Harris, for ought I ſee, the houſe moveth to have this bill in the nature of a petition. It muſt then begin with more humiliation. And truly, Sir, the bill is good of itſelf, but the penning of it is ſomewhat out of courſe. Mr. Montagu ſaid, The matter is good and honeſt,

and

and I like this manner of proceeding by bill well enough in this matter. The grievances are great, and I would note only unto you thus much, that the laſt parliament we proceeded by way of petition, which had no ſucceſsful effect. Mr. Francis More ſaid, I know the queen's prerogative is a thing curious to be dealt withal: yet all grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my tongue, or conceive with my heart, the great grievances that the town and country, for which I ſerve, ſuffereth by ſome of theſe monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all this is beggary and bondage to the ſubjects. We have a law for the true and faithful currying of leather: There is a patent ſets all at liberty, notwithſtanding that ſtatute. And to what purpoſe is it to do any thing by act of parliament, when the queen will undo the ſame by her prerogative? Out of the ſpirit of humiliation, Mr. Speaker, I do ſpeak it, there is no act of her's that hath been or is more derogatory to her own majeſty, more odious to the ſubject, more dangerous to the commonwealth, than the granting of theſe monopolies. Mr. Martin ſaid, I do ſpeak for a town that grieves and pines for a country that groaneth and languiſhes under the burden of monſtrous and unconſcionable ſubſtitutes to the monopolitans of ſtarch, tin, fiſh, cloth, oil, vinegar, ſalt, and I know not what; nay, what not? The principaleſt commodities both of my town and country are engroſt into the hands of theſe blood-ſuckers of the commonwealth. If a body, Mr. Speaker, being let blood, be left ſtill languiſhing without any remedy, how can the good eſtate of that body ſtill remain? Such is the ſtate of my town and country; the traffic is taken away, the inward and private commodities are taken away, and dare not be uſed without the licence of theſe monopolitans. If theſe blood-ſuckers be ſtill let alone to ſuck up the beſt and principaleſt commodities, which the earth there hath given us, what will become of us, from whom the fruits of our own ſoil and the commodities of our own labour, which, with the ſweat of our brows, even up to the knees in mire and dirt, we have laboured for, ſhall be taken by warrant of ſupreme authority, which the poor ſubject dare not gainſay? Mr. George Moore

ſaid, we know the power of her majeſty cannot be reſtrained by any act; why therefore ſhould we thus talk? Admit we ſhould make this ſtatute with a *non obſtante*; yet the queen may grant a patent with a *non obſtante*, to croſs this *non obſtante*. I think therefore it agreeth more with the gravity and wiſdom of this houſe to proceed with all humbleneſs by petition than bill. Mr. Downland ſaid, As I would be no let or overvehement in any thing, ſo I am not ſottiſh or ſenſeleſs of the common grievance of the commonwealth. If we proceed by way of petition, we can have no more gracious anſwer, than we had the laſt parliament to our petition. But ſince that parliament, we have no reformation. Sir Robert Wroth ſaid, I ſpeak, and I ſpeak it boldly, theſe patentees are worſe than ever they were. Mr. Havward Townſend propoſed, that they ſhould make ſuit to her majeſty, not only to repeal all monopolies grievous to the ſubject, but alſo that it would pleaſe her majeſty to give the parliament leave to make an act that they might be of no more force, validity, or effect, than they are at the common law, without the ſtrength of her prerogative. Which though we might now do, and the act being ſo reaſonable, we might aſſure ourſelves her majeſty would not delay the paſſing thereof, yet we, her loving ſubjects, &c. would not offer, without her privity and conſent (the cauſe ſo nearly touching her prerogative), or go about to do any ſuch act.

On a ſubſequent day the bill againſt monopolies was again introduced, and Mr. Spicer ſaid, It is to no purpoſe to offer to tie her majeſty's hands by act of parliament, when ſhe may looſen herſelf at her pleaſure. Mr Davies ſaid, God hath given that power to abſolute princes, which he attributes to himſelf. *Dixi quod Dii eſtis.* (N. B. This axiom he applies to the kings of England.) Mr. ſecretary Cecil ſaid, I am ſervant to the queen, and before I would ſpeak and give conſent to a caſe that ſhould debaſe her prerogative, or abridge it, I would wiſh that my tongue were cut out of my head. I am ſure there were law-makers before there were laws: (Meaning, I ſuppoſe, that the ſovereign was above the laws.) One gentleman went about to poſſeſs us, with the execution of the

law

law in an ancient record of 5 or 7 of Edward the third. Likely enough to be true in that time, when the king was afraid of the ſubject. If you ſtand upon law, and diſpute of the prerogative, hark ye what Bracton ſays, *Prærogativam noſtram nemo audeat diſputare.* And for my own part, I like not theſe courſes ſhould be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, ſhould perform the charge her majeſty gave unto you, in the beginning of this parliament, not to receive bills of this nature: For her majeſty's ears be open to all grievances, and her hands ſtretched out to every man's petitions.—When the prince diſpenſes with a penal law, that is left to the alteration of ſovereignty, that is good and irrevocable. Mr. Montague ſaid, I am loth to ſpeak what I know, leſt, perhaps, I ſhould diſpleaſe. The prerogative royal is that which is now in queſtion, and which the laws of the land have ever allowed and maintained. Let us therefore apply by petition to her majeſty.

After the ſpeaker told the houſe that the queen had annulled many of the patents, Mr. Francis More ſaid, I muſt confeſs, Mr. Speaker, I moved the houſe both the laſt parliament and this, touching this point; but I never meant (and I hope the houſe thinketh ſo) to ſet limits and bounds to the prerogative royal. He proceeds to move, that thanks ſhould be given to her majeſty; and alſo, that whereas divers ſpeeches have been moved extravagantly in the houſe, which doubtleſs have been told her majeſty, and perhaps ill conceived of by her, Mr. Speaker would apologize, and humbly crave pardon for the ſame. N. B. Theſe extracts were taken by Townſend, a member of the houſe, who was no courtier; and the extravagance of the ſpeeches ſeems rather to be on the other ſide: It will certainly appear ſtrange to us, that this liberty ſhould be thought extravagant. However, the queen, notwithſtanding her cajoling the houſe, was ſo ill ſatisfied with theſe proceedings, that ſhe ſpoke of them peeviſhly in her concluding ſpeech, and told them that ſhe perceived that private reſpects with them were privately maſqued under public preſence. D'Ewes, p. 619.

There were ſome other topics, in favour of prerogative, ſtill more extravagant, advanced in the houſe this parliament.

When the queſtion of the ſubſidy was before them, Mr. Serjeant Heyle ſaid, Mr. Speaker, I marvel much that the houſe ſhould ſtand upon granting of a ſubſidy or the time of payment, when all we have is her majeſty's, and ſhe may lawfully at her pleaſure take it from us: Yea, ſhe hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of her crown. At which all the houſe hemmed, and laughed, and talked. Well, quoth ſerjeant Heyle, all your hemming ſhall not put me out of countenance. So Mr. Speaker ſtood up and ſaid, It is a great diſorder, that this houſe ſhould be ſo uſed.——So the ſaid ſerjeant proceeded, and when he had ſpoken a little while, the houſe hemmed again; and ſo he ſat down. In his latter ſpeech, he ſaid, he could prove his former poſition by precedents in the time of Henry the third, king John, king Stephen, &c. which was the occaſion of their hemming. D'Ewes, p. 633. It is obſervable, that Heyle was an eminent lawyer, a man of character. Winwood, vol. i. p. 290. And though the houſe in general ſhewed their diſapprobation, no one cared to take him down, or oppoſe theſe monſtrous poſitions. It was alſo aſſerted this ſeſſion, that in the ſame manner as the Roman conſul was poſſeſſed of the power of rejecting or admitting motions in the ſenate, the ſpeaker might either admit or reject bills in the houſe. D'Ewes, p. 677. The houſe declared themſelves againſt this opinion; but the very propoſal of it is a proof at what a low ebb liberty was at that time in England.

In the year 1591, the judges made a ſolemn decree, that England was an abſolute empire, of which the king was the head. In conſequence of this opinion, they determined, that, even if the act of the firſt of Elizabeth had never been made, the king was ſupreme head of the church; and might have erected, by his prerogative, ſuch a court as the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: For that he was the head of all his ſubjects. Now that court was plainly arbitrary: The inference is, that his power was equally abſolute over the laity. See Coke's Reports, p. 5. Caudrey's caſe.

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NOTE [MM], p. 471.

WE have remarked before, that Harriſon, in book ii. chap. 11. ſays, that in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged ſeventy-two thouſand thieves and rogues *(beſides other malefactors)*; this makes about two thouſand a year: But in queen Elizabeth's time, the ſame author ſays, there were only between three and four hundred a year hanged for theft and robbery: So much had the times mended. But in our age, there are not forty a year hanged for thoſe crimes in all England. Yet Harriſon complains of the relaxation of the laws, that there were ſo few ſuch rogues puniſhed in his time. Our vulgar prepoſſeſſion, in favour of the morals of former and rude ages, is very abſurd, and ill-grounded. The ſame author ſays, chap. 10. that there were computed to be 10,000 gypſies in England; a ſpecies of banditti, introduced about the reign of Henry VIII.; and he adds, that there will be no way of extirpating them, by the ordinary courſe of juſtice: The queen muſt employ martial law againſt them. That race has now almoſt totally diſappeared in England, and even in Scotland, where there were ſome remains of them a few years ago. However arbitrary the exerciſe of martial law in the crown, it appears, that no body in the age of Elizabeth entertained any jealouſy of it.

NOTE [NN], p. 480.

HARRISON, *in his Deſcription of Britain, printed in* 1577, *has the following paſſage*, chap. 13. Certes, there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful ſort of ſhips than the queen's majeſty of England at this preſent; and thoſe generally are of ſuch exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furniſhed as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of them of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.—The queen's highneſs hath at this preſent already made and furniſhed to the number of one and twenty great ſhips, which lie for the moſt part in Gillingham road. Beſide theſe, her grace hath other in hand alſo, of

whom hereafter, as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave ſome farther remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies, the Speedwell, the Tryeright, and the Black Galley, with the ſight whereof, and the reſt of the navy-royal, it is incredible to ſay how marvellouſly her grace is delighted; and not without great cauſe, ſith by their means her coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwiſe would invade us. *After ſpeaking of the merchant ſhips, which he ſays are commonly eſtimated at* 17 *or* 18 *hundred, he continues.* I add, therefore, to the end all men ſhould underſtand ſomewhat of the *great maſſes of treaſure*, daily employed upon our navy, how there are few of thoſe ſhips of the firſt and ſecond ſort (that is of the merchant ſhips), that being apparelled and made ready to ſail, are not worth one thouſand pounds, or three thouſand duckats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſently be ſold. What ſhall we then think of the navy-royal, of which ſome one veſſel is worth two of the other, as the ſhipwright has often told me?——It is poſſible that ſome covetous perſon, hearing this report, will either not credit at all, or ſuppoſe money ſo employed to be nothing profitable to the queen's coffers; as a good huſband ſaid once, when he heard that proviſions ſhould be made for armour, wiſhing the queen's money to be rather laid out to ſome ſpeedier return of gain unto her grace: But if he wiſt that the good-keeping of the ſea is the ſafeguard of our land, he would alter his cenſure, and ſoon give over his judgment. *Speaking of the foreſts, this author ſays,* An infinite deal of wood hath been deſtroyed within theſe few years, and I dare affirm, that, if wood do go ſo faſt to decay in the next hundred years of grace, as they have done, or are like to do in this, it is to be feared, that ſea-coal will be good merchandize even in the city of London. Harriſon's prophecy was fulfilled in a very few years: For about 1615, there were 200 ſail employed in carrying coal to London. See Anderſon, vol. i. p. 494.

NOTE [OO], p. 487.

LIFE of Burleigh publiſhed by Collins, p. 44. The author hints, that this quantity of plate was conſidered only as ſmall in a man of Burleigh's rank. His words are, *his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds:* That he means pounds weight is evident. For, by Burleigh's will, which is annexed to his life, that nobleman gives away in legacies, to friends and relations, near four thouſand pounds weight, which would have been above twelve thouſand pounds ſterling in value. The remainder he orders to be divided into two equal portions; the half to his eldeſt ſon and heir; the other half to be divided equally among his ſecond ſon and three daughters. Were we therefore to underſtand the whole value of his plate to be only 14 or 15,000 pounds ſterling, he left not the tenth of it to the heir of his family.

NOTE [PP], p. 488.

HARRISON ſays, "the greateſt part of our building in the "cities and good towns of England conſiſteth only of "timber, caſt over with thick clay to keep out the wind. "Certes, this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in "queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly when they ſaw "that large diet was uſed in many of theſe ſo homely cottages, "inſomuch that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them "ſaid, after this manner; theſe Engliſh, quoth he, have "their houſes made of ſticks and dirt, but they fare com-"monly ſo well as the king. Whereby it appeareth, that he "liked better of our good fare in ſuch coarſe cabins, than of "their own thin diet in their princely habitations and pa-"laces. The clay with which our houſes are commonly im-"panelled is either white, red, or blue." Book ii. chap. 12. The author adds, that the new houſes of the nobility are commonly of brick or ſtone, and that glaſs windows were beginning to be uſed in England.

NOTE [QQ], p. 491.

THE following are the words of Roger Aſcham, the queen's preceptor. "It is your ſhame (I ſpeak to you "all, you young gentlemen of England), that one maid "ſhould go beyond ye all in excellency of learning, and know-"ledge of divers tongues. Point out ſix of the beſt given "gentlemen of this court, and all they together ſhow not ſo "much good will, ſpend not ſo much time, beſtow not ſo "many hours daily, orderly, and conſtantly, for the encreaſe "of learning and knowledge as doth the queen's majeſty "herſelf. Yea, I believe, that, beſides her perfect readineſs "in Latin, Italian, French and Spaniſh, ſhe readeth here "now at Windſor more Greek every day, than ſome preben-"dary of this church doth Latin in a whole week.—Amongſt "all the benefits which God had bleſſed me withal, next the "knowledge of Chriſt's true religion, I count this the greateſt, "that it pleaſed God to call me to be one poor miniſter in "ſetting forward theſe excellent gifts of learning," &c. Page 242. Truly, ſays Harriſon, it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language; and to ſay how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that, beſides ſound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no leſs ſkilful in the Spaniſh, Italian, and French, or in ſome one of them, it reſteth not in me, ſith I am perſuaded, that as the noblemen and gentlemen do ſurmount in this behalf, ſo theſe come little or nothing at all behind them for their parts; which induſtry God continue.——The ſtranger, that entereth in the court of England upon the ſudden, ſhall rather imagine himſelf to come into ſome public ſchool of the univerſity, where many give ear to one that readeth unto them, than into a prince's palace, if you confer thus with thoſe of other nations. Deſcription of Britain, book ii. chap. 15. By this account the court had profited by the example of the queen: The ſober way of life practiſed by the ladies of Elizabeth's court appears from the ſame author. Reading, ſpinning, and needle work occupied the elder; muſic the younger. Id. ibid.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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